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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

A DIARY.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

[CONTINUED.]

Nov. 14th.—Scene. A beautifully furnished room, the chairs, tables, sofa, *what-not*, &c., drawn up against the wall with as much precision as a company of the great Frederick's soldiers—Miss Elizabeth Lytton seated on an ottoman, reading Mrs. Browning's noble poem, "Casa Guidi Windows"—enter aunt Sewal, who goes through with a critical review of the furniture, occasionally passing her delicate cambric handkerchief over it, to see if Mary has left a particle of dust, while she keeps up a kind of *miserere* over the carelessness of servants, and the troubles of housekeepers in general.

"Dear me, Mary hasn't half dusted the room! It is too bad to hire servants and do your work yourself! And *that* Sophie, too! Elizabeth! Don't you think that Sophie has completely ruined my elegant coffee pot—melted off the spout! I *do* feel as if I should fly every time I think of it! Such an elegant one as it was!"

Her old one was worth a dozen of them; she had used it two years, and not a dent in it. What did I know about coffee pots!

I saw my failure, and tried another tack—Sophie's sorrow over the accident, but this was only adding fuel to the fire.

Well she might be sorry. To know no better than to set her urn down before a red-hot range! after all she had done for her, too! and she tripped out of the room to receive a morning call, and pour her sorrows into a more appreciating ear, I trust.

As for me, the steam from that unfortunate urn had completely dissolved my dreams of a glorious future for Italy; so I sat and wondered why aunt's servants were supposed to be under such infinite obligations to her, unless, indeed, she looked at the matter philosophically, and considered herself in the light of a Heaven-sent trial, to exercise them in the rare virtue of patience.

Elizabeth is buried in this passage—

"The dead upon their awful vantage ground,
The sun not in their faces, shall abstract
No more our strength; we will not be discrowned,
Though treasuring their crowns, nor deign transact
A barter for the present, in a sound
For what was counted good in foregone days.
O, dead, ye shall no longer cling to us!
——— we will not be oblivious
Of our own lives, because ye lived before,
Nor of our acts because ye acted well;
We thank ye that ye first unlatched the door—
We will not make it inaccessible
By thankings in the door-way any more," &c.—

and looks up, with all the glorious hopes it suggests warming her heart, and exclaims—"How beautiful!"

"Yes, indeed, twice as handsome as Mrs. A.'s, and cost only the same. And to think it should be spoiled!"

Elizabeth opens her great gray eyes in astonishment. "How—what, aunt—I don't quite understand!"

"No, I dare say not—no one ever does think it worth while to understand me or my troubles—your uncle never does. As long as everything is on the table at the precise moment, he never asks how it has been done, or how much I have been tried. I said that that careless Sophie had melted off the spout to my coffee-pot."

It was evident that aunt's usual pattern-like equanimity was sorely disturbed, and that she expected me to sympathize with her; but having never experienced the loss of a coffee urn spigot, I was somewhat at loss what to say or do—so I merely suggested that it could be mended.

"Mended! an old tinkered, mended thing on my table!" (N. B. Aunt prides herself on setting the nicest table in the neighborhood) "What would the E.'s and the F.'s think?"

I ventured another suggestion, that she might purchase another. And so she might, she hoped, a dozen if she choose, but they would not be half so good as her old one. Mr. R.'s assortment, she didn't want any one to tell *her* about such things.

Nov. 14th.—I was sitting by the table today, *improvising* all sorts of designs upon a piece of Bristol board, and thinking over my first lesson in drawing, and the quizzical face of "my master," when he asked me whether it was intended for a horse or a house, when aunt looked up from the wristband she was stitching, and asked what I was doing.

"Not much of anything," I answered. "I sat down to make a horse for little bubby Lee."

"Is that child here again, to-day?" she asked, sharply.

"No, I promised him some days ago."

"I really should think, Elizabeth, that child had enough to spoil him, without you. His mother and grandmother make a fool of him; and Mary, she must be running home every other day to see him—or, what is worse, he is brought over here. I shall put a stop to this I can't abide children!"

I looked up in her pretty, delicate, well-kept face, in wondering surprise; but when, a moment after, she turned and spoke so caressingly to her pet canary, I knew that in the above assertion she had belied herself and the good God. Earth without children! Oh, I do not believe that He sends a single soul into this world, to bear long, weary years of toil and sorrow, unbrightened by the love for little children! No, nor that Heaven can be Heaven without childish faces and childish voices, or that Paradise was quite Paradise without them! I did not shock aunt by my heresies, however, but said, gaily—

"Oh, I don't wonder at Mary. If I had such a nephew, I would go twice as far to get a look at his healthy, happy face, any day. It is enough to put one in good humor for a month. I wish I *had* just such a boy!"

I had shocked her, but had only time to catch her "Why, Elizabeth Lytton!" when a hearty laugh, followed by a deep voice, crying, "A right, true, honest, womanly wish! Stick to the truth, Bessie, and shame the devil!" started me, and I turned to see the ample proportions of Dr. G., filling the door-way, while his cheerful, intelligent face beamed down upon us from above the barriers of his fur collar, warm, heart-inspiring as the sun itself.

I sprang forward to meet him, for a short illness has made me acquainted with his excellences, and, what is better, won him to be my friend, but stopped short when he moved his broad shoulders aside, and I saw that he was accompanied by H., and Harold T.; T., whom I had not met in more than a year!

I fancy I have some control over my nerves. but this rushing current of blood is quite another thing. I felt it pouring to my heart like water in a mill race, impelling me to spring forward and meet him; but I mastered it, and listened, as, with my hand buried in his great palm, the Doctor went on—

"Get along, H., and pay your respects to your aunt. Mr. T., let me introduce you to a young friend of mine, Miss Elizabeth Lytton, a good, sensible sort of a girl, who, if it were not for a certain Lydia Mason—well, well, if there were no if's in the world, some strange things would happen."

This Lydia Mason is no other than the Doctor's excellent wife, who, according to him, stands in the way of his wedding as many wives as Solomon. I turned to T.; but, oh, Egypt, Thebes, Harnac, and Luxar, ye contain not within your mysterious temples one figure which can out-rival, in calm immovability, cool indifference, his face, as, slightly touching my hand, he passed the usual compliments, and moved on to be introduced to my aunt.

What could it mean? He was the successful lawyer now; did he mean to ignore all memories and things connected with his earlier struggles? Possibly so; and for one moment I felt what Agassiz means by "Ice Periods."

The old Doctor drew me along to a quiet sofa, and soon I roused myself enough to listen to his conversation; it was all of T. His father had been an old college friend of his, a man of unstable mind, who was unfortunate in everything, if a man could really be said to be unfortunate who possessed such a son, (the Doctor is childless,) the noblest, best boy that ever lived, the kindest, most considerate of sons, (and, though T. had never spoken to me much of his youth, I knew it must have been so;) mother, a lovely woman, died when he was a mere boy"—he's the very image of her—poor Ellen Byrne I knew as a girl; "and the good man's great blue eyes filled with tears as he gazed proudly upon T., as he stood talking with aunt. "She was a cousin of mine," he added; and it was well he did so, for I began to wonder if some Lydia Mason had not stood between them, so marked was his interest—"my cousin, and her boy inherited her spirit. Educated himself, graduated with high honor, and had just commenced the study of law in the office of Judge B., when the man in whose hands the remnant of their property was deposited failed, and left his father broken down, feeble, purposeless, and energyless, dependent upon him for support. He gave up his studies at once, and took the situation of principal of an Academy in ———, well, somewhere in your region, I'll be hanged if I can remember the place, but somewhere on the Sound." There was no need of his remembering—I *did*.

"He staid there two years, when his father happily died. Don't stare at me for saying *happily*, child; I didn't prescribe for him; besides, you cannot have lived in the world thus long, without seeing that there are some people in it who are evidently out of place. Mr. T. was one of them—so he happily died.

"Now, his son is a member of the New Haven bar, one of the most talented of his class, and is here, as counsel in the great case of 'Higgins *versus* Howe.' A noble fellow," added the good man, rubbing his hands; "you must make his acquaintance, surely."

So he had ignored me to one who, it seemed, was his nearest friend. Well, I can be as proud as Harold T., any day—so I chatted with the Doctor and H., who came and took the seat on the other side of me, and allowed him to wind the *crochet* purse I was netting over his delicate fingers, (I do wonder why he cannot let my work alone,) and tease to know if it was not designed for him, unchecked. Once T. looked over that way with a glance that an hour before I would not have met for worlds—even now, it disturbed me for a moment; but I thought, what right has Harold T. to stir my blood thus? Have I thought of him as "my master" until the sportive title has become real, and I am a slave to cower thus before his glance? So I glanced back like a Northern iceberg; but, only a few moments after, I found myself yielding to the old fascination of his tones, as he discussed Whipple's lecture of the evening before, and, in reply to some remark of H.'s, analyzed the lecture and the lecturer in his calm, clear way, meting out praise and censure like a god. How those tones recalled the past! Mine heart made pictures: there was the small parlor looking out upon the sea—mother on the lounge with her book and knitting—the two figures by the table, one occasionally looking up from her drawing, to answer some remark, with which the other had interrupted his reading; and then that voice swept on again, to the accompaniment of the restless waters. Did he not remember it too?

I was roused from my reverie by aunt's voice—

"G.; why, that is where you and your mother lived awhile, Elizabeth. You must have been there about the same time with Mr. T.!"

I looked T. coolly in the face a second, before I replied, "yes, aunt."

Before she could question or comment, T. said, with half a smile, "Miss Lytton is no stranger to me; I have had the honor of meeting her before."

"The deuce you have!" began the old Doctor; but having a sort of instinctive perception, I presume, that there was something beside Lydia Mason in the way here, he very wisely paused, and set to teasing H. about his boot. Aunt, unfortunately, had not his foresight. She kept on—"Indeed, and Elizabeth is so much changed you hardly knew her. Don't you think the change for the better? We flatter ourselves it is." T. bowed, and I prayed that aunt might be attacked with *bronchitis*, anything to stop her mouth, but she kept on. "We think a year or so, with us, will quite overcome her country manners—give her quite a refined and elegant air."

"Pshaw, Mrs. Sewal!" fell in the Doctor—"we don't want any air but a natural one, and the girl has that now. Don't get any such nonsense into your head, child."

H. and T. both laughed, and I was glad when they left, after aunt had politely invited T. to "call again."

Nov. 17th.—I ought to feel flattered, I suppose; for aunt, if I do not greatly mistake her, actually thinks I may do for a wife for her idle H. Whether H. has any hand in bringing her to take this view of the matter, I cannot say; I have no disposition to inquire. Oh, these match-makers!

Nov. 24th.—A whole week of rainy, dirty, foggy weather! I don't believe any one can have patience with such weather—not even the "Shepherd of Salisbury Plain," especially if he had been shut up in the house with aunt Sewal all day, aye, and all night too, for uncle is absent, and she has insisted on my occupying a cot bed in her room, as a sort of guard—I, who sleep like a stone! But I was obliged to yield, under fear of seeming disobliging; and so have been lulled to sleep every night, by a kind of doxology on H.'s perfections. I am cross and out of patience, and would welcome even a slight shock of earthquake, if it would shake up aunt's ideas, and give them a new direction. I like H.; I liked the way in which he defended poor Fanny R. the other day, who, to say the least, has been more sinned against than sinning. He took me by surprise. I find, under the crust of fashion and conventionality, a good substratum of common sense; and I would draw it out, and make the most of it, if it were not for this ridiculous plot of aunt's, and a kind of fancy I have, that the gentleman does, at times, think himself irresistible. I wonder what makes most men fancy that every unmarried woman is ready to fall into their arms, just like a fly into a cup of sweetened water. Is it because they are so much like sweetened water? Why cannot they have sense enough to see that a woman may really like their society, and feel a sincere regard for them, without "being in love with them," as the phrase runs? And why cannot the world, so owlish-eyed in most things, see that such a relation may exist without any desire or intention, on the part of either of the parties, to endow or be endowed "with all their worldly goods?" It would be such a gain to be able to say to a person, "I like you," without being misunderstood. It's a miserable, good-for-nothing world, any way.

Ah, here comes Mary. That girl's face is a perfect magazine of sunbeams. And yet they say that the death of her father and brother have within two years reduced her from decent competence to the position of servant. As she comes singing up the stairs, she calls—"See, Miss Elizabeth! It's clearing up!"

"How can you bear to sing in such weary, rainy weather, Mary?"

"Oh, I don't know; I sing without thinking; I suppose it's a habit I've got. I was thinking how nice this rain was for people who needed water. You know it has been so dry all the fall, Miss, that the cisterns and wells are very low. Besides, if one is contented, it doesn't much matter about the weather; at least, mother says so," she added, in a hesitating way.

Contented—satisfied with one's self? Aye, that is it. Haven't I been all the week restless, dissatisfied, and uneasy, laying all my misery to the weather? And why? It is time to face this question boldly. Because I dare not look into my heart, fearing to find there a love for Harold T., which is neither sister's nor friend's; that I have disgraced my womanhood by loving unsought, unasked. No; that is the world's utterance, the world's law, not mine. I am truer, better, for that love; the shame—no, *pain*—lies here, that he may, has suspected it, and will teach me its futility. 'Tis well; he shall find me not weak, nor backward in seconding his aim. I will meet this truth like a woman who is bent upon doing her best under all life's trials! And yet, what can I put in its place? The love of God—alas, the heart is humanly weak!

"See, Miss Elizabeth! a light streak in the west. We shall have fair weather to-morrow!" cries Mary, from a distant chamber.

"Yes, I see!" Thank God that there are, also, light streaks in the darkest hours of destiny, if we have but faith and patience to watch and wait. It will dawn for me, yet!

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era.

THOUGHTS FOR A SICK ROOM.

BY MARY C. AMES.

To Margaret.

My thought o'erleaps the distance which divides
Us, my sweet sister! 'Mid the twilight's gloom,
I softly steal into that little room,
Dearer to me than any room besides,
Where we have spent so many eventides,
In mirth, and song, and childhood's thoughtless glee.
Now, with a slow and sober step, I glide,
And sit down, as in olden times, with thee.

The room looks as it did in those glad days;
The dainty curtains, with their folds of snow,
Drape the low windows still; and the red glow
Of summer twilight softly shines and plays
On the quaint pictures, which intently gaze
Into our faces, as in other years.
O! do they know us now, when joy's bright rays,
Which once shone in our eyes, are quenched in tears!

Yes, we are changed. Alas! that I should see
Thee looking thus, so sad and wan and weak,
The bright bloom wasted on thy fair, young cheek!
Whene'er my longing thought hath flown to thee,
Thou seemèd happy, as thou well couldst be;
But now there's sorrow in thine eyes of jet,
(Those eyes which always poured their smiles on me:)
What wonder that my own with tears are wet.

Margaret, 'tis hard, in youth's delightful morn,
When we have struggled with an eager heart
To act a noble, brave, and generous part
In life, to feel the radiant hopes just born
Within our breasts, from our embraces torn;
When the soul rises for exultant flight,
To fall back strick'n with deadly blight, all worn,
To die—to sink unknown in the grave's night.

'Tis hard, yet never let our hearts despair;
The end of life is not that it may give
Us joy. For a far holier aim we live!
For this frail life, so transient, sad, and fair,
Stamps on the soul the image it will bear
Throughout eternity. Here it is tried
In the fierce flames of earth's consuming cares
And woe. Thus it is purified.

Our souls must look *beyond* that which appears
To human sight. When sinks our dust to dust,
When all earth's joys are dead, then let us trust
In God. We dwell 'mid mystery. Unnumber'd fears
Disturb our hearts; but there is One who hears
Our feeblest cry. O! let us look above,
And smile e'en in our sorrow and our tears,
For we believe that God, OUR GOD, is love.

Dear sister, I have lov'd to dream bright dreams;
And life hath seem'd to me a glorious thing;
But I have learned, ere yet hath waned its Spring,
That all the *earth-born* joy which sheds its beams
Upon our hearts, is like the transient gleams
Which smile so oft on Winter's sullen sky
There's only one unfailing Light whose streams
Can cheer our souls—that shineth from on high.

'Tis with a hopeful heart I come to-night
To bless thee, Margaret, sister of my soul!
Perchance thou yet wilt gain thine earthly goal,
And linger here, our treasure and delight.
My human heart would stay thy upward flight;
I want thee longer in our home to dwell;
But if thou soarest to the hills of light,
I'll say 'tis well—*I know that it is well!*

Knowlesville, N. Y., 1853.

TRIP TO THE NORTHWEST.

Hubbardston, Mass., *Sept.* 8, 1853.

To the Editor of the National Era:

A few observations, in connection with a recent trip through a portion of the Western country, may not be unacceptable to many of your Eastern readers, who, sooner or later, intend to emigrate West. Passing over, therefore, the great thoroughfare of travel, by the way of New York, Albany, and Buffalo, we find ourselves on board the fine steamer "May Flower," (a name rich in its associations,) on a beautiful morning in July, bound for Detroit.

In the excitement of a warm discussion upon the merits and demerits of the Compromise Measures, (so called,) with some mercantile gentlemen from New York, who—under the pressure of cotton and Castle Garden—felt called upon to sustain the glorious Union, or, what was in their estimation equivalent, the *inglorious Fugitive Slave Law*, time passed unnoted, until we found ourselves at the entrance of Detroit river. On the left bank was spread out the Michigan section of Uncle Sam's farm, with its groves of spreading oaks and rich green openings, dotted here and there with golden grain, now ripening for the reaper. On the opposite bank was Queen Victoria's domain, with its superannuated houses and half-cultivated fields. As we approached the city the contrast became more striking. Thrift and enterprise marked the American side—unthrift and decay the Canadian.

Detroit has the finest harbor on the lakes; its principal streets are wide, and lined with spacious stores and warehouses. The Michigan Central Railroad Company have here the largest freight depot probably in the United States. Here is the distributing reservoir of the great wheat crop of the State. Detroit possesses within herself all the elements of success; and although she may never rival Chicago as a business mart, she will always present far greater inducements as a place of family residence. I passed over the Central Railroad to Chicago, stopping on my way at Ann Arbor and Marshall, both flourishing towns, with a fine farming country around them. (Here let me recommend to travellers the "Acker House," at Marshall. Its clear, well-ventilated chambers, with beds to match, are luxuries not always found in hotels of larger pretensions.)

The wheat harvest had commenced, the crop was generally considered a good one; the severe drought, however, was seriously injuring oats and corn. Walking into the country a few miles out of Marshall, I fell in company with an intelligent farmer, lately from western New York; he had sold his farm there for $60 an acre, and bought a farm here (which, with good cultivation, he considered fully equal to the one he had left) for $30 an acre. It had been under cultivation six or eight years, was very well fenced, with a good wood lot conveniently near, a good framed house and barn, &c. Notwithstanding the drought, his corn looked better than any I had seen in the State of New York.

Uncultivated land, back twelve or twenty miles from the railroad, can be bought at from five to fifteen dollars per acre. Although the tide of emigration has, to a great extent, swept across this State, on its way farther West, yet there can be no doubt—in view of the general good character and intelligence of its people, (they have lately adopted the *Maine Law*,) the facilities for reaching the great markets on our seaboard, the healthful character of the country, rolling and uneven with oak forests, beautiful openings, and running streams, the valuable pine forests on its northern borders, together with the general good quality of its soil—there can be no doubt, I repeat, that Michigan presents great inducements to emigrants. Her great staples are wheat, wool, and lumber.

At New Buffalo we came in sight of Lake Michigan. Here speculation once built a great city—on *paper*. A dismantled warehouse, a deserted, unfinished wharf, a few wretched groggeries, are the fitting remains and accompaniments of the dreary sand-hills and miasmatic marshes that surround them.

Farther on, at Michigan city, (which, I was informed, was quite an important and populous town, especially the church-yard portion of it,) speculation once plumed its wings for lofty flight. Its airy structures were very appropriately located on these shifting sands; but they have disappeared, like "the baseless fabric of a vision," and left not a wreck behind. From this point to Chicago the land is level and marshy, affording a beautiful summer residence for the ague fiend.

Chicago has a population of 39,000—the foreign element exceeding in number the American. The rapid growth, the present prosperity, the prospective greatness of Chicago, are all familiar to your readers.

From Chicago to Rockford, by railroad, is some 80 miles. This portion of the State of Illinois is prairie, with here and there a beautiful grove of trees and shrubs. For a few miles from Chicago it is a perfect level, stretching away in the distance till the strained vision is curtained in by the horizon. ("Indade," said an Irishman, "we are out of sight of land!")

Farther on we have a rolling prairie, with its beautiful green slopes, magnificent crops, and great herds of cattle. With good water and plenty of timber, this country would be a paradise for farmers.

Rockford is a thriving town, built upon either bank of Rock river, which is here crossed by a very shabby bridge. The Rock river country, I was told by those acquainted with it, in fertility of soil cannot be surpassed by any other section of country at the West. At Rockford we take stages for Galena, some 82 miles distant—on! on! through the same interminable, rolling prairie, repaying even the shiftless cultivation and apparent indolence of its sparse population with crops that would astonish an Eastern man, familiar only with the sterile soil of New England. We reach Freeport about sunset. Here the Illinois Central and Chicago and Galena railroads effect a junction. Buildings are being erected, real estate is rising, and the Freeporters are sanguine in their belief of a brilliant future awaiting them.

We are in the mail coach, and travel all night. A lowering sky and a Western road await us. After supper, we seat ourselves (two ladies and four gentlemen) in the coach. For the first few miles we "progress" at the rate of *three miles* an *hour*; but never mind, a right *merrie* company were we. We change horses about midnight, and enter a corduroy road extending a few miles through a timber bottom. The night is pitchy dark, the lightnings flash, the thunder mutters, the rain *pours* down. What a ride was that! Tossed hither and yon, careening over, now on our *larboard*, then on our *starboard* side, to the farthest point of equilibrium; then suddenly pitching our bows into a pit well nigh bottomless, bringing up with a sudden jerk, which sent the craniums of one half of our number into the respective bread-baskets of the other half. So we rode, until a cry of distress, heard above the wailings of the storm, checked our "Jehu" in his mad career. The coach immediately behind us had overset. "What a fall was there, my countrymen!" Men, women, and children, floundering in the mud! and *such mud!* To make a long story short, we scaled the hills which surround Galena, and literally pitched into this leaden town some two hours behind the usual time the next day.

Galena is the centre and depot of the lead region. Its principal street winds its narrow way along the bank of Fevre river, which is navigable for steamboats up to this point. The city is wedged in between two high bluffs, far up the sides of which are built some very pretty residences, reached by flights of steps. Surely, the denizens of these hill-sides ought to be temperate, for no Life Insurance Company would ruin their reputation by taking a risk upon the life of any man who should undertake to navigate this "munition of rocks" minus a cool head and steady nerves. Galena is a place of business and wealth, and must continue to increase in both. The immense wealth contained in these leaden hills will develop itself under the stimulus of capital and systematic effort. The tireless energies of steam will accomplish what the hardy miner, with his pick and windlass, cannot.

We take passage on the good boat "Ben Newton" for St. Paul, the capital of Minnesota. One hour's sail, and, rounding a headland, we enter the noble Mississippi—the Father of Waters—sweeping down, through 20 degrees of latitude, from the beautiful Itasca lake, in whose pearly depths are mirrored the Northern pine; and traversing in its windings, from its source to its mouth, nearly 3,000 miles, with an uninterrupted steamboat navigation of over 2,000 miles to the Falls of St. Anthony; its banks lined with every grade of vegetation, from the hardy evergreen to the fragrant orange-grove; itself and tributaries draining the vast valley lying between the Apalachian range on the east, and the Rocky mountains on the west, embracing 1,100,000 square miles of territory, as fertile as can be found on the face of the globe—this mighty river, washing the shores of ten States and Territories, itself the indestructible boundary line between them, this great national highway, bearing upon its turbid bosom untold wealth, the production of all climes. As for the first time I gazed upon its waters, their smooth surface overlaid with gold from the rays of the setting sun, its emerald banks sloping up against the sky, and darkened by the shadows which nestled on their sides, impressed me with an indescribable sense of beauty and magnificence. The sublime and beautiful scenery on the Upper Mississippi must be seen to be appreciated. The densely wooded bottoms, the sloping forest-covered banks, crowned with steep, bold bluffs, from 300 to 500 feet high, whose castellated sides, overhung with foliage, and seen in the dim twilight, reminded one of turreted castles and mail-clad knights. And then the sunsets! such a commingling of heaven and earth. See the shadows softly creeping up the eastern slopes, with a parting kiss for the golden glory that lingers upon the summit. When the long twilight has faded into night, and the stars glimmer in the sky, then it is, amid the impressive silence of that far-off wilderness, that the soul—aye, this poor, sinful, human soul—asserts its supremacy, and conscious of its immortality, with stately tread enters through Nature's vestibule into the veritable presence of Nature's God. The purple flush of morning chases away the stars, the song of the angels is hushed, its melody lingers among the memories that are precious.

The distance from Galena to St Paul is over 400 miles. The landing places are numerous and of every grade, from the single woodman's hut to the wealthy and populous town. Lansing, on the Iowa side, and Le Crosse, on the Wisconsin bank, are among the most promising of the towns that are springing up at various points on the river. The latter place is to be the terminus of a railroad, now building; which, starting from Milwaukie, traverses the State from lake to river, forming, when completed, a direct railroad route from Boston or New York to the Mississippi, at a point some twenty-four hours' sail from St. Paul.

A few miles below St. Paul we passed an Indian village, tenanted for the most part by dogs, squaws, and half-naked children—(the men were on a hunting-excursion.) On the brow of the hill overlooking the village were a number of slight platforms, high enough to prevent the wolves from reaching the bodies of the dead, which, wrapped in light-colored blankets, here reposed in grander state than any monarch of the old world. The Indians believe that their deceased friends are interested in the pursuits and amusements of the living; hence the custom of placing their bodies on some elevation where they can overlook the village or hunting-ground. They remain in this position until the flesh decays; the bones are then buried in the earth. With this belief, how impressive must be this daily teaching of the dead! Ever at their post, at early dawn, at noon, and at twilight's pensive hour, they speak most affectingly, and to the senses, of man's mortality. In the dark midnight, a mysterious awe creeps over the dusky savage, as, peering from his wigwam door, he sees, by the lightning's flash, the bodies of the dead daguerreotyped upon a lurid sky, while the white flag that ever floats over them trembles and flutters in the wind like a living spirit.

We pass a headland, and the city of St. Paul is before us. Its white spires, its warehouses and stores, clustering around and above the landing, the many fine residences springing up, indicative of growing wealth, together with its imposing capitol and glistening dome, all conspire to form a striking contrast with the savage life and wilderness scenes through which we have passed.

In 1849 this place was a mere trader's post; the land which now sells for building lots, at the rate of $2,000 and $2,500 per acre, was then sold for $1.25 per acre. It presents an imposing view from the river; situated on a bluff eighty or ninety feet above the river, the land back rises in benches, or terraces. I was somewhat disappointed in the place in walking over it. Some parts were quite wet, and the soil generally seemed thin and poor. The population is now probably 6,000. It is eight miles by stage from St. Paul to the town and Falls of St. Anthony. Taking a seat in one of the fine coaches that ply between the two places, we passed through a fine farming country. Although the season was backward, the crops of corn, oats, potatoes, and grass, presented a fine appearance. The town of St. Anthony is located on the east bank of the Mississippi, which at the Falls is half a mile wide. In 1849 there was but one hut there; now it numbers a population of 2,000 souls. The different denominations of Christians usually found in a New England town are represented here. The University building is finely located in an oak grove, within hearing of the roar of the Falls. Two newspapers of handsome size flourish here; the advertisements that fill their columns will give one a good idea of the business of the place. The principal street follows the river bank, which, below the Falls, are precipitous bluffs. From the steamboat landing below the Falls to the upper landing above, is about two miles. From the elevated table land in the lower town is presented a most magnificent view of the river and falls, with the rapids above and below, the wooded banks and islands in the river, with green prairies stretching away on either side of the river, and bounded in the distance by rolling timber lands. It needs no prophet's gift to foretell a brilliant future for St. Anthony and Minneapolis, (City of Waters) the latter place growing up rapidly directly opposite, on the west side of the river. Situated at the head of navigation, (steamboats now run regularly between these places and St. Louis,) with an immense water power, capable of turning an unlimited amount of machinery, a fine warm soil, pure water, a healthy climate, free alike from ague and consumption—these advantages, combined with a landscape of surpassing beauty, point it out as the location of a great manufacturing and commercial city.

But, aside from these advantages, St. Anthony is the centre and depot of the great agricultural and lumber region, extending away hundreds of miles above the falls; (a steamboat, the Governor Ramsey, now runs some hundred miles above the falls;) it also commands the only carrying trade on the river. From the great pine forest, situated upon the head waters of the Mississippi, are drawn supplies of lumber for this growing Territory; the surplus finds a ready cash market down the river. There are ten saws in operation at the Falls. Minnesota river empties itself into the Mississippi at Fort Snelling, eight miles below the Falls. Hennepin county (said to be the garden of Minnesota) lies in the fork of these rivers. The soil is a dark loam, with a mixture of sand. Corn, winter wheat, barley, oats, and especially all kinds of root crops, with proper cultivation, grow in great luxuriance. The fertile and beautiful prairie, extending along the west side of the river, from Minneapolis to Fort Snelling, and back four or five miles, to a chain of beautiful lakes, enclosed with forests of hard wood, is a part of a military reservation, but is soon to be surveyed, and in the market.

The length of this communication reminds me that I must reserve an account of a trip to the largest of these lakes, until some future time. With a few general remarks, as the ministers say, I will bring these rambling scribblings to a close.

And, first, in regard to the inducements offered to New England farmers and mechanics to emigrate West. I am free to confess, from the imperfect knowledge gained by passing observations and conversations with others, that, to my mind, Minnesota presents greater inducements than many of the Western States. In seeking a home in a new country, health is the first consideration. Minnesota offers as healthy a climate as can be found on this continent. The pure, dry atmosphere, the absence of sudden change in the weather, in connection with good water from the gushing spring, the running streams and pearly lakes, which everywhere abound, all combine to make it so. Ague, consumption, and epidemics, are exotics. Although situated in higher latitudes than the Eastern States, yet it is said, by those who have had experience, that the winters of Minnesota are less severe than on the Atlantic coast.

The second consideration is, the character of the people with whom we must associate; are they moral, intelligent, temperate? In these respects, the present population of Minnesota, I think, can safely challenge comparison with that of any part of New England. The sound of the church-going bell mingles with the roar of the water-falls; and, so far as I could learn, wherever a colony is established, there the institutions of religion are sustained. In every township, land is reserved for the support of schools; and it is the glory of Minnesota, that she was the first to follow in the footsteps of Maine, in adopting the provisions of her prohibitory liquor law. Hitherto the emigration to this growing Territory has been mostly from the New England States. The soil is surpassingly fertile. One peculiar feature of the country is the natural meadows, which produce three tons of excellent hay to the acre. It is a good stock-raising country, generally rolling and uneven, and diversified with prairies, oak openings, lakes, and forests of oak, elm, maple, and bass wood. In the northern sections pine forests abound. The lumbering business, in its various forms, employs a large proportion of the population; these are a profitable class of consumers for the farmer to feed. All kinds of produce does now, and will for a long time to come, command a home market, with prices ranging as high as on the seaboard. The Missouri on the west, and the Mississippi on the eastern border, with their numerous tributaries, furnish facilities for inland navigation, by steam and flat-boats, unsurpassed by any State or Territory in the Union. Ninety miles of railroad from St. Anthony will tap Lake Superior, at the centre of the great mineral region; and when the official reports of the various exploring parties, now surveying the proposed routes for the great Pacific railroad, are all laid before Congress, there can be but little doubt that the northern route, (now being surveyed by Governor Stevens,) connecting with Lake Superior, and a ship navigation by the way of the Lakes and the St. Lawrence with the Atlantic, will be the most available route. It is stated in the *New York Tribune*, that the opinion of Mr. Whitney (who has spent more time and money in connection with this great project than any man or company of men in the United States) is decidedly in favor of this northern route; and the editor adds, that it is not only the shortest, as the map will show, but also in the most direct line from Liverpool and Amsterdam to ports in China and Japan. The climate also is preferable, as the heat on the southern routes would be destructive of perishable commodities. These considerations, with many more that might be enumerated, make Minnesota a desirable country for New Englanders.

There are other points to which I wish to allude in regard to the best route to Minnesota, the cost and time required, &c. These will be the subject of another communication, should any of your readers wish it.

J. F. Bradley.

For the National Era.

CAREY ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

The work of Mr. H. C. Carey on the Slave Trade has been highly commended as an Anti-Slavery book in the New York *Tribune*. It has been somewhat favorably noticed, though dissented from by "E." in the *National Era*. I have no objection to this, nor to the circulation and study of the work; but having given it some attention. I wish, through your columns, to notice briefly some of its features, as they presented themselves to my mind. Abolitionists should know what *sort* of an Anti-Slavery book it is, and what remedies it would have them patronize.

In the beginning of the book (page 7) there is a caution against following the British example of "immediate emancipation" in the West Indies;" and it is more than hinted that "the condition of the poor negro has been impaired, not improved." The writer intimates his expectation of being able to show a more excellent way. On page 20 he treats of the benefits conferred on the negro race and their improvement under American Slavery, yet represents the planters as having looked to early measures for its entire abolition. The colonization scheme is here and elsewhere warmly applauded.

Chapter 4, on "Emancipation in the British Colonies," represents it as a failure. "Jamaica" is represented as "one of the oldest, and *until lately* one of the most prosperous, of the colonies." The reader is left to *infer* that emancipation caused its decline. But, if any one seeks for a refutation of that conclusion, he has only to turn to pages 77, 80, to find *other* causes of West India depression—causes at work, and producing their effects, *before* emancipation—causes, to a great extent, inseparable from the workings of the slave system. Similar facts may be found on pages 85, 87.

It is remarkable that a grave and learned writer on Political Economy and Slavery should rely on such a print as Bennett's New York *Herald*—(never reliable on any subject, and always a bitter opposer of emancipation)—for statistics and information from the emancipated islands. Yet this is seen on p ge 26. The London *Times*, another echo of the planters,* is also another of the authorities quoted by Mr. Carey; and the information obtained is as remarkable as the authority. "The Africans are *unhappily* following the example of the creoles in the district in *buying land*, upon which they settle in contented *idleness!*" How is it that penniless negroes, thrown adrift without house or home, with scarcely a covering for their nakedness, with nothing but their liberty and their hands to begin the world with, can so soon have alarmed the conservatives of two hemispheres by their propensity to "*buy land?*" Especially, how is it that they can do this "in contented *idleness?*" Here was a problem that should have arrested the philosophical attention of Mr. Carey. Could *he* have considered the land-purchasing propensity of the blacks an "unhappy" one? Elsewhere, when telling his readers "how freedom grows in Denmark" (p. 343) and in "Northern Germany," (p. 313,) he tells them that the peasantry were encouraged and enabled to acquire small portions of land. He is far from calling it an "unhappy" arrangement, or a result or evidence of "idleness." Why, then, did he record it among the evidences of disastrous emancipation in the West Indies?

In showing "how freedom grows in Russia," (p. 328,) Mr. C. remarks the absurdity of demanding that such a people should exhibit the marks of advancement seen in more favored countries. "All that should be asked is, whether a people has surpassed its own previous condition, and is in a way of improvement and progress." Let the colored people of the British West Indies have the benefit of this rule, and their friends need not fear a scrutiny of them, notwithstanding the strange assertion of Mr. C., (p. 94,) that "the poor laborer of Jamaica is being destroyed;" that he is "now more a slave than ever, because his labor yields him less of the necessaries and comforts of life than when a master was bound to provide for him." If this be so, whence comes his money to "buy land," to the annoyance of the white gentry, the real "*idlers?*" And whence comes the well-known increased demand in the islands for the "necessaries and comforts" furnished from the United States?

Mr. Carey defends the slaveholders in this country from the blame that is sometimes cast upon them. They are "slaves of circumstances over which they have no control."—(P. 15.) The general drift of the argument throughout the book throws the blame of American Slavery on the British Government, whose policy will not "permit" the cotton-growing States to be cotton cloth manufacturers—a process which would, at least, prevent the westward slave trade, if not ultimately abolish *Slavery*, which, according to Mr. C., consists in *poverty*, or results of necessity from it. He forgets to tell us how it came to pass that British policy did not prevent cotton manufacturing at the North as well as at the South. Instead of noticing how a *free* populace readily became manufacturers, he would have it believed that manufactures must *first* be introduced at the South, before the slaves can become *free*. Following out his definitions, which make Wealth synonymous with Liberty, and Poverty identical with Slavery, his grand panacea for American Slavery is the *previous* enrichment of the South, just as though (if this were practicable) the wealth of the *planter* would secure the liberty of the *slave!* Only raise the price of labor, the price of the products of labor, and the price of land, and man becomes free, of course, according to Mr. C.; and we need not trouble ourselves to repeat the statutes that consign him to chattelhood. Thus, at least, we are led to infer. But in showing "how freedom grows" in other countries, as in Germany, the "absolute rights" of the peasant "over the land," (implying freedom from chattelhood, and even from serfdom,) becomes an essential part of the process.—(P. 313) We seem to have one rule for Europe and another for America. If it be meant that the enriching of the slaveholder, while remaining such, and on the products of slave labor, will have a tendency to wean him from the business of slaveholding, the argument certainly is not made very clear. Now, does Mr. Carey show us *how* the high price of wages, products, and land, are to benefit the slave, so long as he remains a chattel. But he seems very confident of one or both of these results, and he would have the friends of the slave relinquish their present efforts, their "crusade for immediate emancipation," and especially their earnest appeals to the consciences of the innocent and involuntary slaveholders, devoting their more enlightened energies to the easier task of making the slaveholders rich by the products of slave labor, under such a judicious tariff as shall materially enhance the price of cotton and negroes!

This may seem a caricature of Mr. Carey's book, but a diligent perusal and study of it will show that it is not so. On page 76 he labors to show that the high prices of sugar in the West Indies produced an amelioration in the condition of the slaves, and elsewhere he says, directly, that those erred who sought to discourage Slavery by diminishing the value of slave produce. On page 111 he undertakes to fortify his theory by recent events in this country:

"At no period," he says, "was that trade (the domestic slave trade) so large as in that from 1830 to 1840, and the effects are seen in comparative prices of cotton.

"Crops 1831 and 1832 average 10½; 1841 and 1842 average 7. The export of negroes declined between 1842 and 1850; and the consequence is, that cotton has maintained its price. With the closing of the Southern mills* the trade is now growing again, rapidly, &c. With the closing of Southern mills, the slave trade is now growing rapidly, and the consequences will be seen in a large decline in the price of that important product of Southern labor and land. The reader will now observe that it was in the period from 1830 to 1840 that the tendency to emancipation disappeared: that it was in that period that there was the greatest *enlargement* of the domestic slave trade, and the greatest *decline* in the price of cotton."

Begging Mr. Carey's pardon, his statistics show no such thing. And had they contained the whole story, they would have showed the reverse of it. He only gives the prices of cotton, 10½c. from 1831–'2—and 7c. in 1841–'2. But the rage of cotton speculation was in the intervening period, of which the prices of cotton are not given. Had he told his readers that in this period the price of cotton rose to 14c., and that the price of negroes and the briskness of the traffic increased accordingly, till, as the Virginia *Times* said, the sales from that State, in twelve months, (1836–'7,) amounted to twenty-four millions of dollars, it would have enabled them to determine whether the "greatest enlargement of the slave trade" was coincident with "the decline of cotton!" Indisputably, the reverse was the fact. Very naturally, indeed, a decline in cotton was the consequence of the unavoidable reaction, and the increased culture of the article. But this (even by Mr. C.'s own figures) came afterwards. He reverses the order of events, and of cause and effect. The slave trade was not enlarged, because cotton declined, nor simultaneously *with* that decline. On the contrary, the rise of cotton raised the price of negroes and stimulated the slave trade. The over traffic and over production brought cotton down again. But Mr. Carey would have it believed, that when cotton is low the slave traffic increases, so that the true remedy for the slave trade is a high price for cotton, produced by a protective tariff!

But this is not the only instance in which Mr. Carey accounts for the existence or increase of Slavery or the slave trade, by the alleged operation of causes which, on an examination of dates, will be found to have come into existence *after* the phenomena they are supposed to have produced. Thus, the existence of Slavery in our American colonies, (now States,) which commenced in 1620, is accounted for by the operation of parliamentary legislation, discouraging American manufactures, commencing, according to Mr. Carey, in 1710, *ninety years afterwards*, when the country was overrun with slaves and the system firmly established.—(P. 95.)

As for Mr. C.'s theory, that the increased demand and high prices of slave products tend to ameliorate the condition of the slave, its falsity not only appears by a common-sense view of the case, but by the uniform testimony of fugitives from slavery, who all agree that the rise of sugar and cotton are the dread and terror of the slaves in the *planting* States, who, at such seasons, are over-tasked and driven with unwonted rigor; and of the slaves in the *slave-growing* States, who are then in the briskest demand for the Southern market.

Another doctrine of Mr. Carey is stated as follows: "*It is not Slavery that produces exhaustion of the soil, but exhaustion of the soil that causes slavery to continue.*"—(P. 105.) The practical application of this I understand to be, that the soil of the Southern States must be improved first, and liberty will come in consequence; for Mr. C. adds: "The people of England rose from slavery to freedom as their soil was improved."† He fortifies his position by an extract from "Professor Johnson, in his Notes on North America," to show that "precisely the same exhaustion is visible in the Northern States." So that the contrast commonly visible to Southern eyes, in sailing up the Ohio river, and visiting New England, is all proved to be an illusion, an optical deception, not yet explained. Among the specimens of Northern exhaustion and decay adduced, are Dutchess county, New York, the region about Albany, &c., where the wheat crop has greatly decreased. The account leaves the reader to infer that property is sadly declining there—rare news to the proprietors, as well as to any one who knew the localities forty years ago, (as I did, Mr. Editor,) and who has recently visited them. What would Mr. C. say, if told that the wealth of that region had been quadrupled in that time, the population advancing, with a great improvement in the appearance of the farms and dwellings, and in the conveniences and elegances of life? Were it otherwise, the fact would sadly conflict with Mr. Carey's favorite and truly beautiful maxim, that the plough, the loom, and the anvil, should go together; for a marked improvement in that respect has taken place there. How deceptive are statistical tables, if incomplete, or if hastily used! The decline of the wheat culture was veritable enough. But the flocks of sheep in Dutchess county, &c., should have been counted by Mr Carey. Perhaps the increased culture of wool would have furnished him with quite as available an argument for his favorite "protective" policy as anything he has culled from the history of Slavery and the slave trade. There could have been no danger of his lugging in anything *more* far-fetched and fanciful. It need not be denied that Northern culture might be improved; but an attempt to put it on a level with that of the slave States was outrageous. So the policy of the British Government, in discouraging our colonial manufactures, may have aggravated the inveteracy of our slave system. But no sound philosophy or sober statistics will warrant the conclusion that the American slaveholder is guiltless, and that the whole or the chief blame lies on Great Britain. I have no quarrel with Mr. Carey's dark, dark picture of the selfish, narrow, falsely-named patriotic policy of that oppressive Government, and the murderous, suicidal effects of that policy. A better text-book from which to preach against all legalized monopolies and class legislations cannot easily be found. In this use of it—especially as coming from an opponent of free trade—the work may be regarded of great value; but it utterly fails in its professed exposé and proffered remedy of chattel slavery in America. On *that* subject, at least, Mr. Carey has more to learn from the "fanatical Abolitionists" than he has been able to teach them.

It is humiliating to find an elaborate writer on political economy coolly assuming that *man* is a legitimate subject of commerce, and thence maintaining that the proper remedy for the slave trade is such an increased market value of the man, *at home*, as shall render his exportation unprofitable—(p. 295)—complaining that "the act of emancipation" (by the British Government) was "a great interference with the rights of property," (p. 279.) and declaring that the prospects of "the poor negroes of Jamaica and Guiana" are worse now than twenty years since.—(P. 212) And yet this same writer, when dilating upon the dire effects of the political economy that, in *his* view, sustains Slavery, can draw as gloomy a picture of its horrors—its separation of families, its

* On page 287, Mr. C. classes the *Times* with the political economists who "would keep labor down."

* "Southern mills." It were to be wished that Mr. Carey had furnished us with a statement of the number of them and of their spindles, and how long a time they were running. We could then judge how much the closing of them has affected the price of negroes.

† Was this process without the emancipation of the people from the condition of serfdom or villeinage?

proscription of education, &c.—as Abolitionists themselves. How, then, can *he* represent West India emancipation as being unfortunate?

A writer, in reviewing Mr. Carey's book, says: "It is a work of science, in the strictest sense of the term." The author "comes to his subject, neither as a theologian, moralist, philanthropist, or sentimental reformer, but as a *political economist*, and treats it throughout as a question of *cause and effect*."

Now, Mr. Editor, I have been accustomed to think that the science of political economy rests on the science of morals or ethics; and that this, in its turn, reposes upon the science of theology, the character and will of the Creator who arranges "cause and effect," for the benefit of mankind. *Philanthropy*, I had accordingly supposed to be the *end* of political economy. Of course, I cannot pretend to be profoundly versed in the secrets of a "strict science" of political economy, that leaves God and man, morals and philanthropy, out of its estimates. The statistics, so far as they go, may be very accurate; the logic within its circle quite legitimate. But in *my* inquiries concerning "cause and effect," on the Slavery question, I must be permitted to look further.
WILLIAM GOODELL.

New York, September, 1853.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1853.

☞ The great length of the correspondence in relation to the Koszta affair, has crowded out our notices of new publications, and current political movements. We shall endeavor to bring up arrears in our next.

"A Diary," by Martha Russell, commenced in last week's *Era*, and continued in this, is a production of rare merit. The reader will miss something peculiarly good, if he overlook it.

☞ Whatever may be thought of the views of a Southerner on our fourth page, the article itself is an indication of progress in the South. We have no room in this number for comments upon it.

TICKETS FOR PENNSYLVANIA.—At the request of our Independent Democratic friends in Philadelphia, we enclose to our subscribers in Pennsylvania, copies of their State ticket. We trust every friend of the cause there will make a good use of them.

On resuming our place we take pleasure in acknowledging the invaluable services of the gentlemen who have had charge of the *Era* during our absence. If, on some incidental questions, they have occasionally presented opinions, not exactly in accordance with our own, or in dealing with persons, have in some instances denounced unsparingly those whom we should have treated leniently, our readers are too well instructed to hold us responsible. All an editor can require in his temporary substitute is, general concurrence of views, ability, and decorum.

In our travels in the Old World we have seen nothing to impair our love of country or our hatred of Slavery. American Democracy can suffer no damage by comparison with the highest forms of its civilization, Southern Slavery can derive no advantage from comparison with its lowest.

While abstaining from participation in any foreign movements against Slavery, we plainly saw how the fact of its existence was used to our detriment. Our great prosperity, our growing power, the large freedom enjoyed by the twenty-two million of white people in the great Republic, could not be denied; but it was asked, What is your *Democracy* worth, when it tolerates so barbarous a system as Slavery? We do not make such professions of devotion to freedom as you do—our institutions are not founded on the doctrine of the natural equality of mankind, as yours are—we do not claim to be the freest people in the world, as you do—we believe in monarchy and aristocracy; so that the inequalities and poverty you see among us, you at least cannot wonder at: besides, we are embarrassed by old, long-established abuses, excess of population, exhausting taxes; but you have a New World, with plenty of room for your population, with no hoary abuses to cramp its energies, and, withal, democratic institutions, which repudiate the idea that one man can hold another in slavery; and yet you enslave three millions of your laborers; and your system of Slavery, under your Democratic institutions, has grown so strong as to control your Government. We ask again, what virtue is there in that Democracy, which, so far from putting an end to such an abuse, has permitted it to grow and expand till its baneful influences are felt in every part of your Republic? It will be observed that the argument is not so much against our country as against *Democracy*, or, rather, the *Democratic Principle*. This we felt more than anything else, for it is an argument that works directly into the hands of Despotism. We cannot bear to see the Despotic Principle in Europe justifying or strengthening itself by appeals to the impotency of the Democratic Principle in the United States. And, under this aspect, we felt that the Slavery of the Southern States of the Union was an obstacle to the emancipation of the masses in Europe, and an ally of European oppression.

Not until Democracy shall obtain supreme power in the United States, and all our institutions have been brought into harmony with its beneficent principles, can the American Republic exert its legitimate influence on the cause of Freedom in the Old World. At home, we clearly understand our complex system of Federal and State Sovereignty, and regard the Republic more in its parts than in its entirety. We see well enough that Slavery is local, and Freedom national—that the one is the interest of all the States, the other the interest of only a portion—that the Federal Government, and the non-slaveholding States, containing two-thirds of the free population and the wealth of the country, are not responsible for the existence of Slavery in the Slave States; but abroad we are known as a *unit*—as a Republic, professing to represent, and to be controlled by, the Democratic Principle. It is not Massachusetts or Virginia that is recognised, it is the *United States;* and what is done in any of the States the whole country is held responsible for. America and Americans, not Virginia and Virginians, are held accountable for Slavery. Whatever may be the glory or shame of any portion of the Republic, is, in the eyes of the world, the glory or the shame of the whole. Surely these considerations should impel every sincere friend of Democracy to seek by all legitimate means the extermination, not only of Slavery, but every other evil that can damage the reputation of the country, and injure the cause of Freedom among the nations of the world.

The Massachusetts Whig State Convention, which assembled at Fitchburg last Wednesday, selected Hon. Emory Washburn, of Worcester, as the candidate for Governor, and Hon. William O. Plunkett, of Adams, as the candidate for Lieutenant Governor, for the ensuing political year. Mr. Washburn is now absent in Europe, but the convention assume that he will accept the nomination. His name has been mentioned before the present year in connection with the office.

The Jerry rescue trial, to have taken place at Syracuse, N. Y., last week, is again postponed.

When we commenced our editorial career eighteen years ago in Cincinnati, there were scarcely half a dozen Anti-Slavery papers, and they had but a limited circulation. The *Philanthropist*, in the editorship of which we were associated with Mr. Birney, of Kentucky, was the sole exponent of Anti-Slavery principles in the West. The Slave Interest held in subjection not only the South, but the North; its exactions had been unresisted, its pretensions unquestioned. The right to discuss its nature, its evil, its tyranny, was boldly denied throughout the Union; in the slaveholding States free discussion had ceased to exist; in the free States the legislative power was invoked to suppress it; and, while hesitating, mob violence was everywhere instigated. It was found that before the subject of Slavery could be discussed, the question must be settled whether there was such a thing in America as liberty of speech and of the press. The conflict was a severe one. Meetings were broken up by violence, churches were sacked, halls dedicated to free discussion were set on fire, presses were pulled down, editors were assaulted with deadly weapons, in one case with a fatal result, lecturers were stoned and whipped, prominent advocates of freedom had a price set upon their heads; political parties, churches, society, capital, and respectability, were enlisted on the side of Despotism; the Anti-Slavery men had no Representative in the State Legislature or in Congress; and the man who, while non-concurring in their views, undertook generously to vindicate their rights as American citizens, fell under the ban of the Ruling Power, and, despite his venerable years and illustrious services, came near being expelled from the House of Representatives.

The thousands who have joined our ranks within the last few years can form but a faint conception of those dark and troubled days—of the hard and apparently hopeless struggle in which the advocates of freedom were involved. Looking around now upon the combination of political influences against them—sustained and directed as it is by the patronage of an Executive under the control of the Slave Interest—and upon the shameful tergiversation or apostacy of many, who a few years since were openly committed to Anti Slavery principles, they are tempted to doubt whether after all Freedom has gained anything substantial in its conflict with Slavery. We who were in the beginning of the struggle take a wider view, and arrive at a very different conclusion.

Comparing the beginnings of our movement with its present condition, we find that throughout the free States Liberty of Speech and of the Press has been triumphantly established, and even in an important section of the slaveholding region the question of Slavery is now freely discussed. Twelve years ago, Dr. Crandall, an American citizen, was thrust into the jail of this District to save him from violence, aroused against him simply because an Anti-Slavery newspaper was found in his possession. In 1853, the *National Era*, in the same District, discussing the question of Slavery in all its length and breadth, sends out weekly an edition of twenty-eight thousand sheets. The half dozen papers of 1835 have been re-inforced by twenty times the number; and now there is not a free State which is without several influential journals arrayed on the side of Freedom.

The opponents of Slavery, proscribed universally by Church and State, have since then compelled every large denomination to consider its relations to Slavery, and in several of them wrought fundamental changes adverse to the evil; and indirectly, by action upon the old political parties, and directly, through an independent organization, defeated the policy of Slavery extension, and established free institutions on the shores of the Pacific, placed three distinguished representatives of their principles in the United States Senate, and ten in the House of Representatives, besides securing the balance of power in several of the State Legislatures.

Our first task was, to establish the right of free discussion in the free States. We have accomplished it. Our next was, to counteract the influences of Slavery in these States, so as to create in them a thorough Anti-Slavery public sentiment, and to induce ecclesiastical and political organizations to absolve themselves from all responsibility for the support of Slavery. This task has been partially accomplished. No one can doubt that there has been a steady growth of Anti-Slavery sentiment among the People of the free States. This was demonstrated in a practical form in 1848, when the question arose, Shall Slavery be extended into the vast territories acquired from Mexico? The response from every free State Legislature, and from the Legislature of Delaware, was a decided *negative;* and this answer remained on record till the question was practically decided against Slavery, in the judgment of the majority of the American People. No one can doubt that the great ecclesiastical organizations of the free States have come more and more under the Anti-Slavery sentiment. The divisions of the Methodist Episcopal and Baptist Churches prove this, as well as the course of proceedings from year to year in the New School Presbyterian Church. The growing power of the same sentiment over political organizations, was shown by the disruption of the Democratic party in 1848, and the utter overthrow of the Whig party in 1852, and is further proved by the efficiency of the Independent Democratic organization, which has just secured the balance of power in the Legislature of Vermont, increased its vote in Maine, and is preparing to accomplish important results in Ohio and Massachusetts.

Need we say, that in the present position and power of the Administration we see nothing to discourage us in the task of delivering the free States from thraldom to Slavery, and in imbuing public sentiment in them with the Anti-Slavery idea. True, the President shrinks from any conflict with the Slave Interest. His patronage is distributed on the sole condition of acquiescence in the Compromise Measures and the Fugitive Slave Law. The Radical Democrats in New York and some other States, from whom better things were expected, have bent the knee and confessed acquiescence. But let us not forget that the great majority of the people who, for the sake of party and the advantages it brings, are passing resolutions of acquiescence in what has been done, hold that the settlement by the force of circumstances has inured on the whole to the benefit of Freedom. They say that the Compromise, so-called, is after all irrevocable, and that the Fugitive Slave Law is no worse, in fact, than the old law of '93—that they do not *approve* of them any more than they did at first, but as they are laws they simply acquiesce in them—that should the issue hereafter be presented, as it was in 1848, in relation to the extension of Slavery, they would be found where they were then. Of course, such a policy is disingenuous and wrong, and necessarily throws serious obstacles in the path of those honestly devoted to the work of redeeming the free States from the influences of Slavery. It deceives the South, too; and must tend to embolden the Slavery Extensionists in that section to further projects for the acquisition of slave territory and the increase of the Slave Power. Still, it must be apparent that even in these men there lies under all their policy and time-serving, a real sentiment of opposition to Slavery, which will naturally prevent them from becoming active opponents of our cause.

The third task that devolved on us, was to use whatever influence we could, in a judicious manner, to induce a free discussion of the question of Slavery in the Slave States, with a view to the creation of a public opinion there which shall ultimately embody itself in legislation favoring emancipation. We have tried to accomplish this by repeated appeals to the conscience, the patriotism, and self-interest of the South. Whether such appeals have always been in the right spirit or not, they have at least had the effect of provoking discussion at the South. This is better than nothing. Evil shrinks from investigation. Abuse in the slave system can never be remedied without agitation. Put it upon its defence, compel its supporters to present the argument for it, and the work of reform is really begun. If Southern people themselves can be induced to agitate the subject of Slavery, no matter if at first in defence or extenuation, a necessary preliminary is gained. There are two sides to every question, and that the South has already found out. Cassius M. Clay and John G. Fee, in Kentucky, are but forerunners of the men whom agitation in the Slave States must produce.

Our readers will see, then, that on returning to our post, we find nothing in the signs of the times to discourage any true friend of Freedom. There is more genuine Anti-Slavery sentiment in the United States to-day than there ever was. Our business is, while seeking to augment it by thorough discussion, to apply it wisely on every practical occasion, and, *be patient.*

Our readers, we believe, have been kept well informed in relation to the late division of the Democratic or Administration party in New York. The Barnburners and Softs were willing to fraternize with the "Hards" upon any platform, but their proffered embrace was rejected. They then proceeded to nominate their ticket, and passed resolutions affirming acquiescence in the Compromise measures, the Fugitive Slave Law, the Baltimore Platform, and the President's Inaugural. Their resolutions further embraced emphatic approval of the President's Inaugural and Administration. The Hards held a separate Convention, nominated their ticket, and also passed resolutions, such as their chieftain, Daniel S. Dickinson, could find no fault with. These resolutions were subsequently taken up, and endorsed by the other Convention!

Standing upon the same declarations of principle, equally zealous in their professions of loyalty to the South, equally devoted to the support of what they call the National Democracy, these two sections of the New York Democracy will have no more dealings with each other than the Jews and Samaritans of former days.

What is the reason of the division? Not one of principle. Both factions have harmonized hitherto, met in Convention together, voted together in State elections, acted together in a National Convention, agreed upon the same "National Platform," and sustained the same Presidential candidate. There has been no change in the principles or professions of either faction. The Barnburners and Softs continued steadfast in the creed dictated by the Hards, and were willing, as the history of the late proceedings in New York shows, to enlarge or modify it at the same dictation. Why, then, did the Hards refuse to act longer with them? Because they could not trust the sincerity of the Union men in their professions respecting Slavery! That is the reason assigned. They had trusted them so far as to remain one with them for years,—what new evidence had the Union Democrats given of their insincerity? None at all! The slaveholding section of the Administration party had confided in these professions, so far as to approve of the policy of the President in accepting them as grounds for the bestowment of Executive patronage. They had plainly signified their desire to let bygones be bygones, and to look rather to a man's present condition than his antecedents. But the virtuous Hards, with a patriotism unexampled even by the rigidly orthodox South, came to the conclusion that to forget and forgive was a weakness—that the Barnburners were insincere, at heart disloyal to Slavery and the Compromises, and, therefore, whatever President Pierce and his Southern supporters might do, they would separate themselves from all fellowship with the deceitful works of darkness. Clearer-sighted than slaveholders themselves, in all that pertains to the interests of Slavery, they determined, at the risk of defeating the Democratic party, to baffle what they pretended was a scheme for Abolitionizing it!

Now, we suppose, the true reason for the schism is, that Mr. Marcy is in the Cabinet, and Mr. Dickinson is nowhere; and that Mr. Marcy's friends have been better provided for than Mr. Dickinson's friends think they deserve. The division springs from personal animosities, not from differences of principle; but ignoble as it is in its source, it may lead to important consequences. Mr. Dickinson stands high in the confidence of the Democratic party of the South. They trust him on the Slave Question, as they cannot trust such men as Ex-Senator Dix and John Van Buren, who, with all their professions of acquiescence in the Compromise, carefully abstain from recanting a single opinion they advanced, or regretting a single position they took in 1848. The Washington *Union* and other Southern supporters of the Administration, find it convenient to represent the Barnburners or Radical Democrats, as having repented of their misdeeds in 1848, fully recanted the "heresy" of opposition to the extension of Slavery, and humbly returned to the Democratic fold, confessing their sins and unworthiness; and they ask, Was not the prodigal son received with signal attentions, and was not the fatted calf killed for his special entertainment? But Daniel is no more satisfied with such reasoning than was the elder brother of that prodigal. "Lo," he saith, "these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment; and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends; but as soon as this thy son was come, who has devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf."

He can point moreover to the fact that these Barnburners are not the repentant prodigals they are represented to be. When have they ever reproached themselves on account of the support they gave to Martin Van Buren? When have they confessed that they did wrong in opposing the extension of Slavery into California and New Mexico? When have they renounced the doctrine that positive enactment by Congress against the extension of Slavery into free territory is constitutional and right? When have they intimated that, should such another crisis occur as arose in 1848, they would pursue a different course? Mr. Dickinson and his friends will be at no loss for such evidence of the real views of these *acquiescent* Barnburners, as will make the South not only distrust them, but look with leniency upon a schism springing from an ostensible devotion to its peculiar interests. Already there are indications in that quarter of a spirit kindred to that of Mr. Dickinson. The *Richmond* (Va.) *Enquirer* has commenced a formidable attack on Ex-Senator Dix, not on account of his present position, but his antecedents. It admits his personal qualifications for the mission to France, but contends that his speeches and votes against the extension of Slavery, during the agitation of the Territorial question, would make his appointment distasteful to the South. Such a reason for political proscription would of course cut off the majority of Northern Democrats, and is directly repugnant to the policy of the Administration, which proposes to ignore the past, and to make a man's present position in regard to the Compromise and Fugitive Law, a test of Democratic orthodoxy. But the *Enquirer* is a leading paper, and doubtless represents a large portion of the Democratic party of the South. From the affiliation of this portion with Mr. Dickinson and his friends, the Administration will find itself subjected to serious embarrassment. We are inclined to think its policy of disregarding antecedents will be somewhat modified by this new element of opposition; that Mr. Dix will fail of the mission to France; and that hereafter prominent appointments will not be conferred on those who in former years signalized themselves by opposition to the schemes of Pro-Slavery men. In fact, the President has committed few offences of this kind; the probability is, that he will sin no more. He fears the power of Slavery, and will dread to arouse its distrust or opposition.

But, what a mean spectacle is here presented! The Administration of a Democratic Republic, essaying to maintain its power by filling all offices with men of known subservience to Slavery! The great Democratic party, laboring to preserve its unity by enforcing as its sole test, devotion to a miserable law for catching runaway slaves!! A Northern section of that party, not satisfied with this, but demanding the utter proscription of any man who, at any time, has spoken or acted against Slavery, no matter how submissive now to its requirements!!!

Have we not reached, at last, the lowest depth in political degradation!

The *Washington Union* publishes the correspondence between the Governments of Austria and the United States, in relation to the Koszta affair, prefacing it with a semi-official editorial, in which the unusual conduct of Austria, in making an appeal to the Governments of Europe against the United States, is alleged as a sufficient reason for making public the reply of the latter to the demands of the former. By the same editorial we learn that Prussia and Russia, through their Ministers at Washington, have signified their general concurrence in the views of the transaction taken by Austria. The absurd rumor that England and France had joined with them in a protest against the conduct of Captain Ingraham, receives its quietus. "It is gratifying to state," says the *Union*, "that the Governments of France and Great Britain, to which the Austrian circular was equally addressed, have deemed it proper to proceed in the premises with a far more praiseworthy circumspection. It is understood, indeed, that the Cabinet of Paris has not failed to make known to the Cabinet of Vienna its disapprobation of the proceedings of the Austrian functionaries in regard to Koszta at Smyrna, even upon the Austrian statement of those proceedings; and that the view it takes of the proceedings looks rather to the maintenance of the rights and territorial sovereignty of Turkey, than to the interests or pretensions of Austria. The Government of Great Britain, though it has made known to that of the United States the fact that its attention has been drawn to the subject, has yet given no intimation that it regards the course of the American functionaries in the transaction as open to censure."

We regret that we have no room in this number for the letter of Mr. Hulsemann, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, to Mr. Marcy, but it shall appear next week. Meantime we hasten to lay before our readers the reply of Mr. Marcy, the American Secretary of State, defining the position and views of our Government. It is one of the most important State Papers ever issued—the more important, as no future Administration will venture to yield one inch of the high ground taken in this letter.

Mr. Marcy, after a full statement of the transaction, proceeds to dispose of the demands of the Emperor of Austria, which are—

That the Government of the United States should direct Koszta to be delivered up to him;

That it shall disavow the conduct of the American agents, and call them to a severe account;

That it shall tender satisfaction proportionate to the outrage.

To arrive at just conclusions, it is necessary to ascertain Koszta's political relation with Austria and with the United States.

The dogma that allegiance is an indestructible tie, or that it is in the nature of a contract to be dissolved only by mutual consent, is denied, and the true doctrine is firmly asserted, that the citizen or subject, having faithfully performed the past and present duties resulting from his relation to the Sovereign Power, may at any time release himself from the obligation of allegiance, freely quit the land of his birth or adoption, and seek a home where he pleases. The right to withdraw from the jurisdiction of a Power which does not answer the ends for which it is bestowed, or has become oppressive to individuals, is similar in principle to the right which legitimates resistance to tyranny.

These doctrines, boldly asserted by Mr. Marcy, however unpalatable to Despotism, will find a warm response from the People everywhere, and not the less prompt, though they clearly apply to the subject of personal Slavery as well as to that of political Despotism.

He proceeds: The conflicting laws respecting allegiance are municipal, and have no extra-territorial forces. The parties to this transaction are two independent nations, and neither can appeal for aid or direction to its municipal laws on this subject. The only appeal is to international law; but this law gives no extra-territorial jurisdiction to municipal regulations. Koszta being at the time of his seizure in Smyrna, the laws of Austria, whatever they may be on the subject of allegiance, had no force there, unless the Sultan had agreed that they should be operative. Under the law of nations, Austria had no right to seize Koszta: had she a right by treaty with Turkey? No such treaty exists. That question was settled when Turkey refused in 1848 to surrender to the demands of Austria and Russia Kossuth and his fellow-exiles, and was sustained in her rejection by the other Powers of Europe. Nor did Austria or Russia consider it a ground of hostility or protest. On this point, Mr. Marcy fortifies himself by an impregnable array of evidence. Neither by international law nor by treaty was Austria authorized to extend her law of allegiance to Koszta.

But, if she really had authority by treaty to extend that law to her "subjects" in Turkey, it could not be applied to Koszta, unless he was a "subject" at the time of his seizure. But he was not then a subject of Austria, for, by an Imperial decree of the 24th March, 1832, Austrian subjects, leaving the dominions of the Emperor without permission of the magistrate and a release of Austrian citizenship, with an intention never to return, become "*unlawful emigrants*," and lose all their civil and political rights at home. Koszta had left Austria under penalty of the circumstances defined by this decree—was an unlawful emigrant—had lost all civil and political rights in Austria—had no claim to the protection of that Government—was, in fact, an outlaw. What right has a Sovereign to the allegiance of a person reduced to this miserable condition? Allegiance in his case was dissolved. Again, by the consent and procurement of the Austrian Government, he had been perpetually banished. Such an act was a release from allegiance. Koszta was not the "subject" of Austria.

"It will be conceded that the civil authority of Turkey during the whole period of the occurrences at Smyrna was dormant, and in no way called into action. Under these circumstances—Austria without any authority, Turkey exercising none, and the American functionaries, as Austria asserts, having no right in behalf of their Government to interfere in the affair, (a proposition which will be hereafter contested)—what, then, was the condition of the parties at the commencement of the outrage and through its whole progress? They were all, in this view of the case, without the immediate presence and controlling direction of civil or international law in regard to the treatment of Koszta. The Greek hirelings, Koszta their victim, and the Austrian and American agents, were, upon this supposition, all in the same condition at Smyrna in respect to rights and duties, so far as regards that transaction, as they would have been in if it had occurred in their presence in some unappropriated region lying far beyond the confines of any sovereign State whatever; they were the liege subjects of the law of nature, moral agents, bound each and all alike to observe the precepts of that law, and especially that which is confirmed by divine sanction, and enjoins upon all men everywhere, when not acting under legal restraints, to do unto others whatsoever they would that others should do unto them; they were bound to do no wrong, and to the extent of their means to prevent wrong from being done; to protect the weak from being oppressed by the strong, and to relieve the distressed. In the case supposed, Koszta was seized without any rightful authority. He was suffering grievous wrong; any one that could might relieve him. To do so was a duty imposed under the peculiar circumstances of the case by the laws of humanity. Capt. Ingraham, in doing what he did for the release of Koszta, would, in this view of the case, be fully justified upon this principle. Who, in such a case, can fairly take offence? Who have a right to complain? Not the wrongdoers, surely, for they can appeal to no law to justify their conduct. They can derive no support from civil authority, for there was none called into action; nor from the law of nature, for that they have violated."

The vindication of Captain Ingraham, on the ground of humanity, is well put; but we beg leave to suggest to Mr. Marcy that, in quoting the Higher Law, he adds a gloss which may subject him to the anathema pronounced against those who add to or take from the things written in the Scriptures. He speaks of the binding force of the precepts of "that Law, and especially that which is confirmed by Divine sanction, and enjoins upon all men everywhere, *when not acting under legal restraints*, to do unto others whatsoever they would that others should do unto them." The qualification is of Mr. Marcy's manufacture, not of Divine sanction, and is interpolated, we presume, to cover the case of the Fugitive Slave Law, which is a most flagrant restraint upon this "Higher Law" to which the American Secretary appeals in vindication of Captain Ingraham. It would have sounded anything but "Divine," if Christ had enjoined upon us that we should do to others as we would have others do to us, except in cases where human law enjoined us to do to others what we would *not* have them do to us—or to love our neighbor as ourselves, except in cases where human law enjoined that we should hate our neighbor. But to return from this digression on the *divinity* of our statesman:

Mr. Marcy having shown that the law of Austria, on the subject of allegiance, has no extra-territorial force under the law of nations, and no force in Turkey, by treaty; that Koszta was not, under any aspect, "a subject" of Austria; that his seizure, therefore, was utterly unjustifiable, and that Captain Ingraham, by the law of nature—the only one in force at the time—was justified in interposing for his rescue, proceeds to show that Koszta, at the time he was kidnapped, bore the national character of an American, and the Government of the United States had the right to extend protection to him. And here Mr. Marcy lays down this important principle, that, under the law of nations, the national character of the country attaches, "not only to native-born and naturalized citizens, *but to all residents in it who are there with or without an intention to become citizens, provided they have a domicil therein.*" On this high ground, which he maintains with great strength, he argues that the Government of the United States was justified in extending its protection to Koszta who had not only acquired a domicil here, but had taken the first steps in the process of naturalization.

"Whenever, by the operation of the law of nations, an individual becomes clothed with our national character, be he native-born or naturalized citizen, an exile driven from his early home by political oppression, or an emigrant enticed from it by the hopes of a better fortune for himself and his posterity, he can claim the protection of this Government, and it may respond to that claim without being obliged to explain its conduct to any foreign Power; for it is its duty to make its nationality respected by other nations, and respected in every quarter of the globe."

Such are the principal positions taken in this impartial document—positions, we presume, to which the American Government is irrevocably committed. We do not see how our Government could take any lower ground without degradation.

The Richmond *Enquirer* has a letter from Gen. Felix Houston to Dr. Samuel Cartwright, of New Orleans, on the subject of the comparative health of black and white laborers in the South, and an extract from a recent publication by Dr. Cartwright on the same subject. These papers show that while the white laborers in the South have been swept to the grave by the Southern epidemics like chaff before the wind, the black slave has been unharmed—thus showing that white men are not fitted by nature for drudgery in the Southern climate. A correspondent of the *Enquirer* remarks that every mile of Southern railroad has cost a hogshead of white men's blood. The *Enquirer* accompanies these papers with its commendations, and says that they undermine the very foundations on which Abolitionism stands.

The argument is, that as the slaves are exempt from yellow fever, while the white laborer is destroyed by it, therefore all labor ought to be done by slaves, and not by whites. But, the whole case is not stated. The pestilence, while passing by colored people, finds its victims among the whites, whether laborers or not; therefore, the whites ought not to live there at all, but give up the country to the blacks. Were it a fact, however, that white men can live, but not labor with safety, in Louisiana, while black men can both live and labor there healthfully, it would simply prove the adaptation of the black man's constitution to the climate, but not his fitness for slave labor. The exemption of the slave laborer from the yellow fever is owing, not to his slavery, but to his constitution.

Abolitionism is not founded upon the assumption of the equal capacity of blacks and whites for labor in hot climates; but on the Truth, that free labor is the only right and beneficent kind of labor in all climates.

THE KOSZTA AFFAIR.

Mr. Marcy to Mr. Hulsemann.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 26, 1853.

The President has carefully considered the note of Mr. Hulsemann, Chargé d'Affaires of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, of the 29th ultimo, addressed to this Department, and the other documents relative to the much-regretted occurrences at Smyrna in June and July last, with a view to ascertain the nature of the complaints therein preferred against the American officers engaged in that affair, and for the purpose of giving such satisfaction as Austria might be entitled to receive in case he should find that these officers had not duly respected her rights.

Though differing very much from the views presented by Mr. Hulsemann on behalf of his Government, the President still indulges the hope, that the exposition of the principal reasons on which his own conclusions are founded, will induce his Majesty's Government to look at the transaction in a different light from that in which it is presented by that Government.

It is the duty of the undersigned to present these reasons to Mr. Hulsemann, and he will fail in his intention if, in performing this duty, he does not evince a friendly spirit, and avoid, so far as it can be done without impairing the full strength of the case, the introduction of topics to which either Mr. Hulsemann or his Government can take exception.

To bring out conspicuously the questions to be passed upon, it seems to the undersigned that the facts should be more fully and clearly stated than they are in Mr. Hulsemann's note.

Martin Koszta, by birth a Hungarian, and of course an Austrian subject at that time, took an open and active part in the political movement of 1848–'49, designed to detach Hungary from the dominion of the Emperor of Austria. At the close of that disastrous revolutionary movement, Koszta, with many others engaged in the same cause, fled from the Austrian dominions, and took refuge in Turkey. The extradition of these fugitives, Koszta among them, was demanded and pressed with great vigor by Austria, but firmly resisted by the Turkish Government. They were, however, confined at Kutahia, but at length released, with the understanding or by express agreement of Austria, that they should leave Turkey and go into foreign parts. Most of them, it is believed, before they obtained their release, indicated the United States as the country of their exile. It is alleged that Koszta left Turkey in company with Kossuth—this is believed to be a mistake; and that he engaged never to return—this is regarded as doubtful. To this sentence of banishment—for such is the true character of their expulsion from Turkey—Austria gave her consent: in truth, it was the result of her efforts to procure their extradition, and was accepted by her as a substitute for it. She had agents or commissioners at Kutahia to attend to their embarkation, and to her the legal consequences of this act are the same as if it had been done directly by herself, and not by the agency of the Ottoman Porte. Koszta came to the United States, and selected this country for his future home.

On the 31st of July, 1852, he made a declaration, under oath, before a proper tribunal, of his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and renounce all allegiance to any other State or sovereign.

After remaining here one year and eleven months, he returned, on account, as is alleged, of private business, of a temporary character, to Turkey, in an American vessel, claimed the rights of a naturalized American citizen, and offered to place himself under the protection of the United States Consul at Smyrna. The Consul at first hesitated to recognise and receive him as such; but afterwards, and some time before his seizure, he and the American Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* at Constantinople, did extend protection to him, and furnished him with a *Tezkereh*—a kind of passport or letter of safe conduct, usually given by foreign consuls in Turkey to persons to whom they extend protection, as by Turkish laws they have a right to do. It is important to observe that there is no exception taken to his conduct after his return to Turkey, and that Austria has not alleged that he was there for any political object, or for any other purpose than the transaction of private business. While waiting, as is alleged, for an opportunity to return to the United States, he was seized by a band of lawless men—freely, perhaps harshly, characterized in the despatches as "ruffians," "Greek hirelings," "robbers"—who had not, nor did they pretend to have, any color of authority emanating from Turkey or Austria, treated with violence and cruelty, and thrown into the sea. Immediately thereafter he was taken up by a boat's crew, lying in wait for him, belonging to the Austrian brig-of-war the Huszar, forced on board of that vessel, and there confined in irons. It is now avowed, as it was then suspected, that these desperadoes were instigated to this outrage by the Austrian Consul-General at Smyrna; but it is not pretended that he acted under the civil authority of Turkey, but, on the contrary, it is admitted that, on application to the Turkish Governor at Smyrna, that magistrate refused to grant the Austrian Consul any authority to arrest Koszta.

The Consul of the United States at Smyrna, as soon as he heard of the seizure of Koszta, and the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States *ad interim* at Constantinople, afterwards interceded with the Turkish authorities, with the Austrian Consul-General at Smyrna, and the commander of the Austrian brig-of-war, for his release, on the ground of his American nationality. To support this claim, Koszta's original certificate of having made, under oath, in a court in New York, a declaration of intention to become an American citizen, was *produced* at Smyrna, and an imperfect copy of it placed in the hands of the Imperial Austrian Internuncio at Constantinople. The application to these officers at Smyrna for his liberation, as well as that of Mr. Brown, our Chargé d'Affaires, to Baron de Bruck, the Austrian Minister at Constantinople, was fruitless, and it became notorious at Smyrna that there was a settled design on the part of the Austrian officials to convey him clandestinely to Trieste—a city within the dominion of the Emperor of Austria. Opportunely, the United States sloop-of-war, the St. Louis, under the command of Captain Ingraham, arrived in the harbor of Smyrna before this design was executed. The commander of the St. Louis, from the representation of the case made to him, felt it to be his duty, as it unquestionably was, to inquire into the validity of Koszta's claim to American protection. He proceeded with deliberation and prudence; and discovered what he considered just grounds for inquiring into Koszta's claim to be discharged on account of his American *nationality*. During the pendency of this inquiry he received notice of the design to take Koszta clandestinely, before the question at issue was settled, into the dominions of the Emperor of Austria. As there was other evidence of bad faith besides the discovered design of evading the inquiry, Captain Ingraham demanded his release, and intimated that he should resort to force if the demand was not complied with by a certain hour. Fortunately, however, no force was used. An arrangement was made, by which the prisoner was delivered to the custody of the French Consul-General, to be kept by him until the United States and Austria should agree as to the manner of disposing of him.

This full statement of the facts is deemed important, as it will correct some errors and aid in presenting with more distinctness the questions to be discussed.

The undersigned will now proceed to present the views of the President upon this transaction, and his reply to these several demands.

His Imperial Majesty demands that the Government of the United States shall direct Koszta to be delivered to him; that it shall disavow the conduct of the American agents in this affair, call them to a severe account, and tender satisfaction proportionate to the outrage.

In order to arrive at just conclusions, it is necessary to ascertain and clearly define Koszta's political relation with Austria and with the United States when he was seized at Smyrna. This is the first point which naturally presents itself for consideration, and perhaps the most important one in its bearings upon the merits of the case.

There is great diversity and much confusion of opinion as to the nature and obligations of allegiance. By some it is held to be an indestructible political tie, and though resulting from the mere accident of birth, yet forever binding the subject to the sovereign; by others it is considered a political connection in the nature of a civil contract, dissoluble by mutual consent, but not so at the option of either party. The sounder and more prevalent doctrine, however, is, that the citizen or subject, having faithfully performed the past and present duties resulting from his relation to the sovereign power, may at any time release himself from the obligation of allegiance, freely quit the land of his birth or adoption, seek through all countries a home, and select anywhere that which offers him the fairest prospect of happiness for himself and his posterity. When the sovereign power, wheresoever it may be placed, does not answer the ends for which it is bestowed, when it is not exerted for the general welfare of the people, or has become oppressive to individuals, this right to withdraw rests on as firm a basis, and is similar in principle to the right which legitimates resistance to tyranny.

The conflicting laws on the subject of allegiance are of a municipal character, and have no controlling operation beyond the territorial limits of the countries enacting them. All uncertainty as well as confusion on this subject is avoided by giving due consideration to the fact, that the parties to the question now under consideration are two independent nations, and that neither has the right to appeal to its own municipal laws for the rules to settle the matter in dispute, which occurred within the jurisdiction of a third independent Power.

Neither Austrian decrees nor American laws can be properly invoked for aid or direction in this case, but international law furnishes the rules for a correct decision, and by the light from this source shed upon the transaction at Smyrna are its true features to be discerned.

Koszta being beyond the jurisdiction of Austria, her laws were entirely inoperative in his case, unless the Sultan of Turkey has consented to give them vigor within his dominions by treaty stipulations. The law of nations has rules of its own on the subject of allegiance, and disregards generally all restrictions imposed upon it by municipal codes.

This is rendered most evident by the proceedings of independent States in relation to extradition. No State can demand from any other, as a matter of right, the surrender of a native born or naturalized citizen or subject, an emigrant, or even a fugitive from justice, unless the demand is authorized by express treaty stipulation. International law allows no such claim, though comity may sometimes yield what right withholds. To surrender political offenders (and in this class Austria places Koszta) is not a duty; but, on the contrary, compliance with such a demand would be considered a dishonorable subserviency to a foreign Power, and an act meriting the reprobation of mankind. As rendering needless all further argument on this point, the undersigned will recall to Mr. Hulsemann's recollection what took place in 1849 and 1850, in relation to the reclamation of Polish refugees in Turkey by Russia, and of Hungarian refugees (of whom Koszta was one) by Austria. This demand was made in concert, as it were, by two powerful sovereigns, while their triumphant armies, which had just put an end to the revolutionary movements in Hungary, stood upon the borders of Turkey, with power to erase her name from the list of nations. She might well apprehend for herself, as the nations of Western Europe apprehended for her, that a refusal in her critical condition would put in jeopardy her existence as an independent Power; but she did refuse, and the civilized world justified and commended the act. Both Austria and Russia placed their respective demands on higher grounds than a right of extradition under the law of nations; they attempted to strengthen their claim by founding it upon the obligations of existing treaties—the same, undoubtedly, that are now urged upon the consideration of the United States. Russia and Austria, however, both submitted to the refusal, and never presumed to impute to Turkey the act of refusal as a breach of her duty or a violation of their rights.

To show that the very same claims to rights now set up in this case were overruled and repudiated in 1849 and 1850, the undersigned will refer to the cotemporaneous views of eminent statesmen in regard to the conduct of the Sultan in refusing to surrender, on the demand of Austria and Russia, the Hungarian and Polish refugees, who were claimed by these powers as rebels and traitors.

Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, entirely approved of the Sultan's course on that occasion—indeed, he advised it. In a letter to his Government, dated the 3d of September, 1849, he says: "On grounds of humanity, not unmixed with considerations as affecting the Porte's character and future policy, I have not hesitated to advise a decided resistance to the demand of extradition." From another letter of this Ambassador, dated the 17th of December, commenting on and commending the courageous firmness of the Sultan, in refusing the demand of these powerful Emperors for the surrender of these fugitives, on the same pretence as now set up by one of them to justify the seizure of Koszta, this extract is taken:

"Allow me to add, my Lord, that in proportion as I admire the courageous firmness with which the Sultan and his Government have determined to make this stand in the cause of humanity and of the rights of honor and dignity, against a demand alike objectionable in substance and in form, I feel a deepening anxiety for the result of their resistance, and for the degree of support which her Majesty's Government and that of France may find themselves at liberty to afford, not only in the first instance, but in still graver circumstances, should the present partial rupture unfortunately assume a more serious and menacing character."

In these views the French Minister resident at Constantinople fully concurred, and so did the British and French Governments; and both were prepared to espouse the cause of Turkey, if her humane and honorable course in refusing these unwarrantable demands had provoked the resentment and brought down upon her the hostilities of these mighty potentates. The opinions of other distinguished men, approving of the decision of the Emperor of Turkey in refusing to surrender the Polish and Hungarian refugees, both on the ground of humanity and right, have fallen under the notice of the undersigned, but he has forborne to quote them, on account of the unworthy motive ascribed therein to the Powers making the demand, and the harsh epithets by which their conduct is characterized.

It is an incident of great significance, and bearing authoritatively upon some of the most important questions now raised, that the case of Koszta (for he was one of the Hungarian refugees then demanded) was fully discussed in 1849, not only by the parties, but throughout Europe, and decided against the right of Austria to require his extradition, either under the law of nations or by existing treaty stipulations. This decision deeply interested not only rulers and statesmen, but the great body of the people of every country. They investigated its merits, admitted its justice, and commended the firmness and humanity of the Sultan for his course.

It is to be regretted that this claim for the surrender of Koszta and his companions, so fully considered then and so signally overruled, should be again revived by Austria, under circumstances which make the United States a reluctant party in the controversy. The claim has been repudiated by the general judgment of Europe, and this Government is unable to discover any sufficient reason for dissenting from that decision.

Austria appears to have been aware that her right to seize Koszta could not be sustained by international law, and she has attempted to derive it from certain treaties, or "ancient capitulations by treaty and usage." The very slight and inexplicit manner in which this authority is adverted to in Mr. Hulsemann's note, apparently indicates, if not a want of confidence in it, at least a desire not to have it scrutinized. If there really was such an authority, and it was of such an extraordinary character as it is assumed to be, it would have constituted, as Austria must have clearly seen, the main strength of her case, and she would not have referred to it in such a manner as to leave the very existence of it open to doubt or question. The paragraph referring to it is the following:

"As there can be no doubt, therefore, concerning the question of nationality, the Consul-General of the Emperor at Smyrna was, without doubt, perfectly justified when, in virtue of those treaties which subject Austrian subjects in Turkey to consular jurisdiction, he seized the person of Koszta within the pale of his jurisdiction."

If there be such treaties conferring such a power, with such extraordinary means of enforcing it, strange, indeed, it is that more prom-

inence is not given to the fact in Mr. Hulsemann's communication. Why are the dates of these treaties withheld? What is still more important, why is not the language conveying this authority quoted? The undersigned is constrained, for reasons he will briefly assign, to question the accuracy of the interpretation which derives the right claimed in the above paragraph from any existing treaty between Austria and the Ottoman Porte.

The Austrian Internuncio at Constantinople, in a conference with Mr. Marsh, the American Minister Resident, spoke of such a right as derived from "ancient capitulations by treaty and usage." It is not shown or alleged that new treaty stipulations since 1849 have been entered into by Turkey and Austria. The "ancient capitulations" were relied on to support the demand in that year for the surrender of the Hungarian refugees; they were scrutinized, and no such authority as is now claimed was found in them. The French and English Ministers at Constantinople, who advised and sustained the Sultan in resisting the demand of Austria for their extradition, would not have given such advice if they could have found in existing treaties any authority for that demand, or any obligation on the part of the Sultan to yield to it. Lord Palmerston, then her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, carefully examined these treaties, and expressed his conclusions thereon in a letter to Sir Stratford Canning, dated 24th September, 1849. In this letter, which contained an extract from one of these treaties—that of Belgrade—and referred to the claims of Austria, founded on them, for the surrender of these refugees, he says: "The utmost that could be demanded would be that they [the refugees] should not be allowed *to reside permanently* in the Turkish Empire."

Coming down to a later period—to the very transaction at Smyrna—abundant reasons are found for denying that Turkey was then under any treaty obligation to deliver Koszta to Austria, or that her Consul-General had authority to seize him. On this subject it is allowable to resort to the declarations of the public men of the Porte as evidence in regard to an issue of this kind. Their explicit denial may be fairly considered as equivalent to Austria's affirmation without proof, where proof, if it existed, could be so easily adduced.

In a despatch to this Government of the 4th of August, 1853, Mr. Marsh, the American Minister Resident at Constantinople, says:

"I have had several conversations on this subject with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and with Aali Pacha, Governor of Smyrna at the time the affair took place. These distinguished persons are very far from expressing any dissatisfaction with the course pursued by us. They sustain the view the Legation has taken of the legal character of the question, and Aali Pacha informs me that a few years since the Austrian Government refused to surrender to the Porte Turkish rebels who had fled into Austria, on the very ground now taken by the Porte—namely, that the treaties did not provide for the extradition of political offenders."

Mr. Brown, the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the United States at Constantinople, writes, that in an interview with Chehil Effendi, also a Turkish officer of high rank and great experience, in which the affair at Smyrna was discussed, he observed that "the Austrian Government does not possess the power by treaty to arrest any one on Ottoman soil for political offences." There is now, however, something more decisive from Turkey than the opinion of her public men in opposition to this treaty claim of Austria. The Government of the Porte has pronounced a judgment in relation to the seizure of Koszta, which Austria herself is bound to respect. It has protested against the conduct of the Austrian agents in that affair as unlawful, and a violation of its sovereignty; but not one word of complaint, not a murmur of dissatisfaction, from Turkey, against the conduct of the functionaries of the United States at Smyrna, has yet reached this Government. This is certainly an anomalous case: Austria arraigns the United States for violating the rights of Turkey in the Koszta affair; Turkey, the offended party, exonerates the United States, and protests against Austria, our accuser, for the very same offence.

These considerations have led the undersigned, as he believes they will lead all others who duly reflect on them, to the confident conclusion that there exist no treaties between Austria and Turkey which could justify, or in any way countenance, the seizure or imprisonment of Koszta by the Austrian functionaries.

But if Austria really has such authority, by treaties, as she now claims, it confessedly extends only to "Austrian subjects." It could not, therefore, be applied to Koszta, unless he was such a subject at the time he was seized. If the question of his nationality is to be settled by international law, the only code which furnishes the rules by which this question is to be determined, there is no good reason for adjudging him to have been, when seized at Smyrna, an Austrian subject. But settle this question, as Austria would have it settled, by an appeal to her own civil code, the result will be the same.

By the consent and procurement of the Emperor of Austria, Koszta has been sent into perpetual banishment. The Emperor was a party to the expulsion of the Hungarian refugees from Turkey. The sovereign by such an act deprives his subjects to whom it is applied of all their rights under his Government. He places them where he cannot, if he would, afford them protection. By such an act he releases the subjects thus banished from the bond of allegiance. Any other result would make the political connection between the subject and the sovereign a state of unmitigated vassalage, in which all the duties and no rights would be on one side, and all the rights and no duties would be on the other. Koszta must be regarded as having been banished by Austria; for he was one of the Hungarian refugees whom she procured to be expelled from Turkey in 1851. They were released from confinement at Kutahia on condition of submitting to perpetual banishment, and she had two persons present at their departure "who claimed and obtained there an active share in the arrangements." Koszta could never thereafter be rightfully demanded as an Austrian subject.

The proposition that Koszta at Smyrna was not an "Austrian subject," can be sustained on another ground. By a decree of the Emperor of Austria, of the 24th of March, 1832, Austrian subjects leaving the dominions of the Emperor without permission of the magistrate and a release of Austrian citizenship, and with an intention never to return, become "*unlawful emigrants*," and lose all their civil and political rights at home.—(Enc. Amer., Tit. Emigration, 2 Kent's Com., 50, 51.)

Koszta had left Austria without permission, and with the obvious and avowed intention never to return; he was, therefore, within the strict meaning of the Imperial decree, "an unlawful emigrant." He had incurred and paid the penalty of that offence by the loss of all his civil and political rights. If he had property, it had escheated, and he was reduced to a state worse than absolute alienage; for aliens have, by right, the benefit of the civil laws for protection, in whatever country they may be. Stripped by this Imperial decree of civil and political rights, Koszta had, in Austria, no redress for personal wrongs, and abroad he had no claim to protection from the Government that would still hold him as a subject. He was, in regard to Austria, an outlaw. What right can a sovereign have to the allegiance of a person reduced by him to such a miserable condition? It seems to have been the very object of the Austrian decree to dissolve the previous political connection between the "unlawful emigrant" and the Emperor. In Koszta's case it was dissolved.

Some importance seems to be attached to Koszta's own opinion of his citizenship. The note of Mr. Hulsemann conveys the impression, though it does not contain the express averment, that he acknowledged himself to be a subject of the Emperor of Austria. The passage, when closely examined, shows that the alleged acknowledgment is only an inference from undisclosed premises. The language of the note on this subject is the following: "The very declaration of that refugee on board of the Huszar, in the presence of the American Consul and the commander of the St. Louis, shows that he still considered himself as a subject of the Emperor." The declaration referred to in support of this inference is not given, but it is undoubtedly the response Koszta is reported to have made, when interrogated as to his being an American citizen: "I am a Hungarian, and will live and die a Hungarian." Mr. Brown, the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the United States at Constantinople, who was not at Smyrna at any time during the transaction in relation to Koszta, stated in a letter to Baron de Bruck something like the foregoing declaration; but Captain Ingraham, who was present, as Mr. Hulsemann states, when Koszta was examined, and made the declaration imputed to him, says, in writing to the Minister Resident of the United States: "I am astonished to see by Mr. Brown's letter that Koszta declared himself on our first interview a Hungarian. I did not hear him say so." It may well be doubted whether Koszta ever used any such language. Should it, however, be admitted that he did make that or a similar declaration, it cannot be fairly understood to imply an acknowledgment that he was then a subject of the Emperor of Austria. To apprehend rightly what he meant by such a declaration, it is proper to consider his situation, his known sentiments, and his antecedents. In his mind, no two things could probably be more distinct from each other than Austria and Hungary. One was an object of his aversion—the other an object of his love. His affections clustered around the land of his birth, and were the more intense because he thought that country had been cruelly wronged, and he knew it was unfortunate. In his visions of the future, he saw a happier destiny for Hungary. He saw her standing proudly among the independent nations of the earth, under a clement Government emanating from the will of the people, and dedicating its constitutional authority to their general welfare. In the fallen condition of Hungary he thought it base to disown her, and glorious to claim her for the land of his birth. His situation when this declaration is supposed to have been made is also to be regarded in interpreting his words. He was in the hands of Austrian agents, loaded with fetters, and warned of his own doom by the knowledge of the sad fate of so many of his unfortunate companions. In this forlorn condition he could not have intended, by the language ascribed to him, to acknowledge any unbroken tie which then bound him to the Emperor of Austria.

The undersigned is brought, by a fair application of sound principles of law, and by a careful consideration of the facts, to this important conclusion—that those who acted in behalf of Austria had no right whatever to seize and imprison Martin Koszta.

It will be conceded that the civil authority of Turkey during the whole period of the occurrences at Smyrna was dormant, and in no way called into action. Under these circumstances—Austria without any authority—Turkey exercising none—and the American functionaries, as Austria asserts, having no right in behalf of their Government to interfere in the affair, (a proposition which will be hereafter contested)—what, then, was the condition of the parties at the commencement of the outrage, and through its whole progress? They were all, in this view of the case, without the immediate presence and controlling direction of civil or international law, in regard to the treatment of Koszta. The Greek hirelings, Koszta their victim, and the Austrian and American agents, were, upon this supposition, all in the same condition at Smyrna in respect to rights and duties, so far as regards that transaction, as they would have been in if it had occurred in their presence in some unappropriated region lying far beyond the confines of any sovereign State whatever; they were the liege subjects of the law of nature, moral agents, bound each and all alike to observe the precepts of that law; and especially that which is confirmed by divine sanction, and enjoins upon all men everywhere, when not acting under legal restraints, to do unto others whatsoever they would that others should do unto them; they were bound to do no wrong, and to the extent of their means to prevent wrong from being done; to protect the weak from being oppressed by the strong, and to relieve the distressed. In the case supposed, Koszta was seized without any rightful authority. He was suffering grievous wrong—any one that could might relieve him. To do so was a duty imposed, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, by the laws of humanity. Captain Ingraham, in doing what he did for the release of Koszta would, in this view of the case, be fully justified upon this principle. Who, in such a case, can fairly take offence? Who have a right to complain? Not the wrong-doers, surely, for they can appeal to no law to justify their conduct. They can derive no support from civil authority, for there was none called into action; nor from the law of nature, for that they have violated.

To place the justification of the American agents still further beyond controversy, the undersigned will now proceed to show that Koszta, when he was seized and imprisoned at Smyrna, had the national character of an American, and the Government of the United States had the right to extend its protection over him.

The genuineness of the certificate which he produced, when he claimed protection as an American citizen, has been questioned, in consequence of the imperfect copy given by Mr. Brown to the Austrian Internuncio; but that which he produced to the American Consul at Smyrna, and to Captain Ingraham, to the commander of the Austrian brig Huszar, and to the Austrian Consul-General, was genuine. A correct copy of it has been sent to this Department, and verified by a comparison with the record of the court in New York in which Koszta made his declaration in due form of law. To remove all doubt on this subject, a certified copy of that record is annexed to this communication.

It is not contended that this initiatory step in the process of naturalization invested him with all the civil rights of an American citizen; but it is sufficient for all the purposes of this case to show that he was clothed with an American nationality; and in virtue thereof, the Government of the United States was authorized to extend to him its protection, at home and abroad. Mr. Hulsemann, as the undersigned believes, falls into a great error—an error fatal to some of his most important conclusions—by assuming that a nation can properly extend its protection only to native-born or naturalized citizens. This is not the doctrine of international law, nor is the practice of nations circumscribed within such narrow limits. This law does not, as has been before remarked, complicate questions of this nature by respect for municipal codes. In relation to this subject, it has clear and distinct rules of its own. It gives the national character of the country not only to native-born and naturalized citizens, but to all residents in it who are there with, or even without, an intention to become citizens, provided they have a domicil therein. Foreigners may, and often do, acquire a domicil in a country, even though they have entered it with the avowed intention not to become naturalized citizens, but to return to their native land at some remote and uncertain period; and whenever they acquire a domicil, international law at once impresses upon them the national character of the country of that domicil. It is a maxim of international law, that domicil confers a national character; it does not allow any one who has a domicil to decline the national character thus conferred; it forces it upon him often very much against his will, and to his great detriment. International law looks only to the national character in determining what country has the right to protect. If a person goes from this country abroad, with the nationality of the United States, this law enjoins upon other nations to respect him, in regard to protection, as an American citizen. It concedes to every country the right to protect any and all who may be clothed with its nationality. These are important principles in their bearings upon the questions presented in Mr. Hulsemann's note, and are too obvious to be contested; but as they are opposed to some of the positions taken by Austria, the undersigned deems it respectful in such a case to sustain them by reference to authorities.

"The position is a clear one, that if a person goes into a foreign country, and engages in trade there, he is, by the law of nations, to be considered a merchant of that country, and *a subject* for all civil purposes, whether that country be hostile or neutral." (1 Kent's Com., 75.)

Again: the same authority says that "in the law of nations, as to Europe, the rule is, that men take their national character from the general character of the country in which they reside." (Ibid., 78.)

If Koszta ever had a domicil in the United States, he was in virtue thereof invested with the nationality of this country, and in this character continued as long as that domicil was retained. There are cases in which it is difficult to settle the question of domicil; but that of Koszta is not one of them.

The most approved definitions of a domicil are the following: "A residence at a particular place, accompanied with positive or presumptive proof of continuing there for an unlimited time."—(1 Binney's Reports, 349.) "If it sufficiently appear that the intention of removing was to make a permanent settlement, or for an indefinite time, the right of domicil is acquired by a residence of a few days."—(The Venus, 8 Cranch, 279.) "Vattel has defined domicil to be a fixed residence in any place, with an intention of always staying there. But this is not an accurate statement. It would be more correct to say that that place is properly the domicil of a person in which his habitation is fixed, without any present intention of removing therefrom."—(Story's Con. of Laws, § 43.) "A person who removes to a foreign country, settles himself there, and engages in the trade of the country, furnishes by these acts such evidence of an intention permanently to reside there as to stamp him with the national character of the State where he resides." (Venus, 8 Cranch, 279.)

Apply these principles to the case under consideration, and the inevitable result is, that Koszta had a domicil in the United States. He came to and resided in this country one year and eleven months. He came here with the intention of making it his future abode. This intention was manifested in several ways, but most significantly by his solemn declaration upon oath. There can be no better evidence of his design of making the United States his future home than such a declaration; and to this kind of evidence of the intention, the indispensable element of true domicil, civilians have always attached importance. Phillimore, § 188.) In the case of Koszta, we have all that is required to prove he had a domicil in the United States—the concurrence of an actual residence with the intention to make this country his future home.

The establishment of his domicil here invested him with the national character of this country, and with that character he acquired the right to claim protection from the United States, and they had the right to extend it to him as long as that character continued.

The next question is, was Koszta clothed with that character when he was kidnapped in the streets of Smyrna, and imprisoned on board of the Austrian brig-of-war Huszar? The national character acquired by residence remains as long as the domicil continues, and that continues not only as long as the domiciled person continues in the country of his residence, but until he acquires a new domicil. The law as to the continuance and change of a domicil is clearly stated in the following quotation from an eminent jurist:

"However, in many cases actual residence is not indispensable to retain a domicil after it is once acquired; but it is retained, *animo solo*, by the mere intention not to change it, or to adopt another. If, therefore, a person leaves his home for temporary purposes, but with an intention to return to it, this change of place is not in law a change of domicil. Thus, if a person should go on a voyage to sea, or to a foreign country, for health or for pleasure, or for business of a temporary nature, with an intention to return, such a transitory residence would not constitute a new domicil, or amount to an abandonment of the old one; for it is not the mere act of inhabitancy in a place which makes it the domicil, but it is the fact, coupled with the intention of remaining there, *animo manendi*." (Story's Con. of Laws, § 44.)

At the very last session of the Supreme Court of the United States, a case came up for adjudication, presenting a question as to the domicil of General Kosciusko, at the time of his death. The decision, which was concurred in by all the judges on the bench, fully sustains the correctness of the foregoing propositions in regard to domicil, particularly the two most important in Koszta's case; first, that he acquired a domicil in the United States; and, second, that he did not lose it by his absence in Turkey. (14 Howard's Reports S. C. U. S., 400.)

As the national character, according to the law of nations, depends upon the domicil, it remains as long as the domicil is retained, and is changed with it. Koszta was, therefore, vested with the nationality of an American citizen at Smyrna, if he, in contemplation of law, had a domicil in the United States. The authorities already referred to show that, to lose a domicil when once obtained, the domiciled person must leave the country of his residence with the intention to abandon that residence, and must acquire a domicil in another. Both of these facts are necessary to effect a change of domicil; but neither of them exists in Koszta's case. The facts show that he was only temporarily absent from this country on private business, with no intention of remaining permanently in Turkey, but, on the contrary, was, at the time of his seizure, awaiting an opportunity to return to the United States.

Whenever, by the operation of the law of nations, an individual becomes clothed with our national character, be he a native born or naturalized citizen, an exile driven from his early home by political oppression, or an emigrant enticed from it by the hopes of a better fortune for himself and his posterity, he can claim the protection of this Government, and it may respond to that claim without being obliged to explain its conduct to any foreign Power; for it is its duty to make its nationality respected by other nations, and respectable in every quarter of the globe.

This right to protect persons having a domicil, though not native-born or naturalized citizens, rests on the firm foundation of justice, and the claim to be protected is earned by considerations which the protecting power is not at liberty to disregard. Such domiciled citizen pays the same price for his protection as native-born or naturalized citizens pay for theirs. He is under the bonds of allegiance to the country of his residence, and if he breaks them, incurs the same penalties. He owes the same obedience to the civil laws, and must discharge the duties they impose on him. His property is in the same way, and to the same extent as theirs, liable to contribute to the support of the Government. In war he shares equally with them in the calamities which may befall the country; his services may be required for its defence; his life may be perilled and sacrificed in maintaining its rights and vindicating its honor. In nearly all respects, his and their condition as to the duties and burdens of Government are undistinguishable; and what reasons can be given why, so far at least as regards protection to person and property abroad as well as at home, his rights should not be co-extensive with the rights of native-born or naturalized citizens? By the law of nations they have the same nationality; and what right has any foreign Power, for the purpose of making distinction between them, to look behind the character given them by that code which regulates national intercourse? When the law of nations determines the nationality of any man, foreign Governments are bound to respect its decision.

They would have no cause to complain, if the protecting Power should stand upon its extreme rights in all cases; but that Power, in discharging its duties of protecting, may, for sufficient reasons, have some regard for the civil distinctions which its own laws make between the different classes of persons to whom it has the right, under international law, to extend its protection. It will naturally watch with more care, and may act with more vigor, in behalf of native-born and naturalized citizens, than in behalf of those who, though clothed with its nationality, have not been so permanently incorporated into its political community.

Giving effect to those well established principles, and applying them to the facts in the case, the result is, that Koszta acquired, while in the United States, their national character; that he retained that character when he was seized at Smyrna, and that he had a right to be respected as such while there, by Austria and every other foreign Power. The right of a nation to protect, and require others to respect, at home and abroad, all who are clothed with its nationality, is no new doctrine, now for the first time brought into operation by the United States. It is common to all nations, and has had the sanction of their practice for ages; but it is new that at this late period, when the United States assert a claim to it as a common inheritance, it should at once be discovered that it is a doctrine fraught with danger, and likely to compromit the peace of the world. The United States see no cause for alarm—no reason for renouncing for themselves what others have so long and so harmlessly enjoyed.

There may be a reluctance in some quarters to adopt the views herein presented relative to the doctrine of domicil and consequent nationality, lest the practical assertion of it might in some instances give a right of protection to those who do not deserve it. Fears are entertained that this doctrine offers a facility for acquiring a national character, which will lead to alarming abuses; that under the shadow of it political agitators, intent upon disturbing the repose of their own or other countries, might come to the United States with a view to acquire a claim to their protection, and then to return to their former scenes of action, to carry on, under a changed national character, their ulterior designs, with greater security and better success. This apprehension is believed to be wholly unfounded. The first distinct act done by them towards the accomplishment of these designs would disclose their fraudulent purpose in coming to and seeking a domicil in this country. Such a development would effectually disprove the fact that they acquired a domicil here, and with it our nationality. Without that nationality they could not be considered as standing under the protecting arm of the United States, and consequently could have no right to claim, and no reason to expect, it would be exerted in their defence. Their fraudulent intent would defeat all they could hope to gain by a residence in this country, and by insincerely professing to make it their home.

The intention entertained in good faith to make it such a home would be wanting, and without such an intention neither domicil nor nationality can be acquired. This consideration should dispel all suspicions that this doctrine as to nationality and protection will not be as safely used and as well guarded from abuse by the United States as it has been in times past, or may be in the future, by any other sovereign Power. There is nothing in the doctrine herein maintained, or in the history of this Government, to awaken the slightest apprehension that it is in any way inclined to extend the shield of its protection over adventurers or seditious propagandists, who may go from this to other countries to engage in enterprises designed to interfere with their political institutions or disturb their internal quiet. The liberal policy of the United States in regard to receiving immigrants from all nations, and extending to them the advantages of their free institutions, makes it an act of justice on their part to maintain the right of national protection to the full extent authorized by the law of nations, and to resist with firmness any attempt to impose new restrictions upon it.

There is another view of this case, which places the conduct of the agents of this Government at Smyrna upon equally defensible grounds. The American Consul there, and the American Legation at Constantinople, acted with great caution in relation to Koszta's claim to be regarded as entitled to the protection of this Government. As his naturalization had not been perfected, they hesitated at first to receive him under their protection; but the facts show that they ultimately yielded to his application. He received from each a *Tezkereh*—in effect a certificate—that the person to whom it is given is cared for, and received under the protection of the Government whose agent has granted it.

By the laws of Turkey and other Eastern nations, the consulates therein may receive under their protection strangers and sojourners whose religion and social manners do not assimilate with the religion and manners of those countries. The persons thus received become thereby invested with the nationality of the protecting consulate. These consulates, and other European establishments in the East, are in the constant habit of opening their doors for the reception of such inmates, who are received irrespective of the country of their birth or allegiance. It is not uncommon for them to have a large number of such *proteges*. International law recognises and sanctions the rights acquired by this connection.

"In the law of nations as to Europe, the rule is, that men take their national character from the general character of the country in which they reside; and this rule applies equally to America. But in Asia and Africa an immiscible character is kept up, and Europeans trading under the protection of a factory take their national character from the establishment under which they live and trade. This rule applies to those parts of the world from obvious reasons of policy, because foreigners are not admitted there, as in Europe 'and the Western part of the world,' into the general body and mass of the society of the nation, but they continue strangers and sojourners, not acquiring any national character under the general sovereignty of the country." (1 Kent's Commentaries, 78–'9.)

The Lords of Appeals in the High Court of Admiralty in England decided, in 1784, that a merchant carrying on trade at Smyrna, under the protection of a Dutch Consul, was to be considered a Dutchman as to his national character. (Wheaton's Inter. Law, 384; 3 Rob. Adm. Reports, 12.)

This decision has been examined and approved by the eminent jurists who have since written treatises on international law.

According to the principle established in this case, Koszta was invested with the nationality of the United States, if he had it not before, the moment he was under the protection of the American Consul at Smyrna and the American Legation at Constantinople. That he was so received is established by the *Tezkereh* they gave him, and the efforts they made for his release. The Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the United States at Constantinople, in a letter of the 29th of June, addressed to the Imperial Internuncio, states:

"It was on presenting this declaration of allegiance to the Consulate of the United States of America at Smyrna, and to this Legation, that the said Koszta was furnished with a *Tezkereh* to come to Constantinople and to return to Smyrna, whence he was to start for New York. Since his arrival in Turkey he has resided under the protection of my Government, and it is a pleasure to me to be able to state that his conduct has always been irreproachable."

Having been received under the protection of these American establishments, he had thereby acquired, according to the law of nations, their nationality; and, when wronged and outraged as he was, they might interpose for his liberation, and Capt. Ingraham had a right to co-operate with them for the accomplishment of that object. The exceptions taken to the manner of that co-operation remain to be considered.

In relation to the deportment of the American agents towards Mr. Weckbecker, the Austrian Consul-General, the undersigned cannot conceive that there can be any ground of complaint. Nothing done to or with him, by Mr. Offley, our Consul at Smyrna, can possibly imply disrespect to the Emperor of Austria. Neither in his private character, nor as a functionary of the Austrian Government, did Mr. Weckbecker take an open or an avowed part in the opening scenes of the outrage. His agency in that affair at its commencement was clandestine. This course implied a consciousness on his part that the act was indefensible. The fact that he sought the aid of the civil authority of Turkey to get Koszta into his possession, proves that he knew the mode he resorted to for that purpose was illegal. The application of Mr. Offley to him to assist in and consent to Koszta's release, was certainly no offence, and implied no disrespect either to him or his Government.

The appeal of Mr. Brown to Capt. Ingraham to interpose for the liberation of Koszta, and his advice to effect it in the way it was done, must be regarded not only as proper but praiseworthy acts, provided Capt. Ingraham's conduct can be vindicated. The justification of Capt. Ingraham will consequently exonerate Mr. Brown from all censure. If Capt. Ingraham's course was right, Mr. Brown's cannot be wrong. The commander of the St. Louis was placed in a truly embarrassing position. Charged with the protection of the persons and property of those who had a right to the protection of his Government, it was at the same time no less his imperative duty to respect the authorities of all countries in friendly relations with his own. After anxiously considering the case presented to him at Smyrna, he determined that he ought to effect the release of Koszta, and, if unavoidable, resort to force to accomplish it.

It has excited some surprise here, that, after a consideration of the circumstances, an impression should be entertained, in any quarter, that Capt. Ingraham either committed or meditated hostility towards Austria on that occasion. In passing upon his conduct, it is necessary to keep in view the conclusions established, as the undersigned believes, in the preceding remarks; for he, without doubt, acted upon precisely the same conclusions. He believed that Koszta had been seized without authority, that he was illegally imprisoned, and that he ought at once to be set at liberty.

The first aggressive act in this case was the seizure of Koszta at Smyrna, committed by the procurement of the Austrian functionaries—the first improper use of a national ship, the imprisonment of Koszta therein, was made by the commander of the Austrian brig Huszar. That ship was converted into a prison for the illegal detention of a person clothed with the nationality of the United States, and consequently entitled to their protection. If Austria upholds, as it appears she does, the conduct of the commander of the Huszar, she is in fact the first aggressor. This act of the commander of the Huszar led to the series of other acts which constitute the ground of complaint against the United States. The alleged authority of Austria under treaties being set aside, no one would have questioned Capt. Ingraham's right, had he been present, to arrest the proceedings of the kidnappers in the streets of Smyrna, and rescue Koszta from their hands. They were acting without, and against, the civil authority of the place; they were committing an atrocious outrage upon a person invested with the nationality of the United States. If he could have properly interfered in the first stage of this lawless transaction, he might do so in the last. The act was, in all its stages, a continuous wrong; and the character of the actors, though there was a succession of persons, was the same: they were all wrong-doers; and if they chanced to have the possession of a national ship, and converted it into a prison for the purpose of consummating this wrong, that ship, thus desecrated, was not entitled to the privileges of a sanctuary. Those who had the right to claim, and the power to release, the prisoner illegally confined therein, might treat it as a prison, and while it was degraded to such an ignoble purpose might forget, and be excused for forgetting, that it was a national ship.

There is a consideration probably not brought to the notice of Austria, and not sufficiently regarded by others, which places the acts of Capt. Ingraham in a true light, and repels the inference of intended hostile demonstrations towards Austria. It was the understanding of the parties that Koszta should be retained at Smyrna while the question of his nationality was pending. Capt. Ingraham received satisfactory evidences of a design, on the part of the Austrian functionaries at Smyrna and Constantinople, to disregard this arrangement, and remove him clandestinely from the Huszar on board of a steamer, for the purpose of taking him to Trieste. The information was such as did not permit Capt. Ingraham to doubt that the commander of the Huszar concurred in this design, and intended to aid in carrying it into effect. By this evidence of the want of good faith on the part of the Austrian functionaries, in which the captain of the Huszar was implicated, the captain of the St. Louis was placed in the perplexing alternative of surrendering the captive, without further efforts, to the sad fate which awaited him, or to demand his immediate release, and in case of refusal, to enforce it. The Government of the United States exceedingly regrets that he was reduced to this painful alternative; but it cannot find, after a full consideration of all the circumstances, any good reasons for disapproving the course he pursued. It is not just to Capt. Ingraham to look at the affair as it was at the precise point of time when the demand for the release of Koszta was made. The antecedent events qualify and legalize that act. The Austrian functionaries had obtained the possession of the person of Koszta, not in a fair or allowable way, but by violating the civil laws of Turkey and the rights of humanity. Under these circumstances, their custody of him was entitled to no respect from the agent of the Government which, by virtue of his nationality, had a right to protect him. Had all the circumstances been as they were, except a change of place—instead of being taken from the territory of the Ottoman Porte, had he been taken from that of the United States, could a question have been raised as to the propriety of Capt. Ingraham's conduct? If the conclusions heretofore arrived at are correct, the Austrian agents had no more right to take Koszta from the soil of the Turkish dominions than from the territory of the United States; and Capt. Ingraham had the same right to demand and enforce his release as he would have had if Koszta had been taken from American soil, and incarcerated in a national vessel of the Austrian Emperor. In this question, confined as it is to the United States and Austria, the place of the transaction is immaterial, unless the Austrian municipal laws extended over it.

The undersigned yields a ready assent to that part of Mr. Hulsemann's note relative to the war-making power. The doctrines contained in it is sound and well sustained by most approved authorities; but the undersigned has not been able to discover its applicability to the case under consideration. The people of the United States, in organizing their Government, have been careful to impose more restrictions upon that power than any of the nations of Europe, and it cannot be admitted that these nations have had any occasion to reprove this Government for its abuse. It has as deep an interest and as anxious a desire to maintain international relations of friendship and peace as any of the European Powers, and will do as much as any of them for public tranquillity. The rules for its own guidance, and for the conduct of its agents abroad, have that end specially in view.

On entering upon the duties of his office, the President announced the policy which would be observed by this Government in its foreign intercourse: "We have nothing in our history or position to invite aggression; we have everything to beckon us to the cultivation of relations of peace and amity with all nations. Purposes, therefore, at once just and pacific will be significantly marked in the conduct of our foreign affairs." There need be no apprehensions of a departure from this course.

In pursuance of this policy, the public agents of this Government abroad are under instructions to respect the rights of all nations; and any deviation from that course would be promptly disavowed, and proper reparation made for any injury or insult which they might offer to a friendly Power.

The application made by Austria to the principal Powers of Europe, to warn and admonish the United States in regard to the conduct of their agents on the occasion before mentioned, implies that this Government has adopted and is acting upon some principle hitherto unknown to the law of nations, and dangerous to public tranquillity. The communications to the Government in compliance with this appeal, though respectfully made and doubtless well intended, imply a distrust of its good faith and fair intentions.

The undersigned is confident that, after due consideration of the views here taken of the affair at Smyrna, those Powers which have been so prompt to censure will be equally prompt to correct any precipitate judgment they may have formed in regard to it. He indulges the belief, that after a full and fair examination—not merely of a detached fact, but of the whole series of facts—they will be abundantly satisfied that the agents of this Government in that transaction have respected international law, and in no particular transgressed the restrictions it imposes.

The vindication of these agents is not placed upon any principle new to the international code, or unknown in the practice of enlightened nations. These nations do not hesitate, in the exercise of the right of protection, to extend it to persons (not always subjects according to their municipal laws) who are clothed with their nationality; and in some instances they have carried this right of protection to limits which this Government would not venture, because it would not feel justified to approach; nor have any of these nations been disposed to abandon the exercise of this right from a timid apprehension that it might possibly bring them into an occasional collision with other Powers.

Is there anything in the character or condition of this Government which restricts it in the use of this right—a common inheritance to all—within narrower limits than are allowed to others? In relation to international rights, the United States ask no more than has been conceded to others, and will not be contented with less. They put forth no new principles, but claim the full benefit of those which are established.

Before closing this communication, the undersigned will briefly notice the complaint of Austria against Captain Ingraham, for violating the neutral soil of the Ottoman Empire. The right of Austria to call the United States to an account for the acts of their agents affecting the sovereign territorial rights of Turkey is not perceived, and they do not acknowledge her right to require any explanation.

If anything was done at Smyrna in derogation of the sovereignty of Turkey, this Government will give satisfactory explanation to the Sultan when he shall demand it, and it has instructed its Minister Resident to make this known to him. He is the judge, and the only rightful judge, in this affair, and the injured party, too. He has investigated its merits, pronounced judgment against Austria, and acquitted the United States; yet, strange as it is, Austria has called the United States to an account for violating the sovereign territorial rights of the Emperor of Turkey.

The conclusions at which the President has arrived, after a full examination of the transaction at Smyrna, and a respectful consideration of the views of the Austrian Government thereon, as presented in Mr. Hulsemann's note, are, that Koszta, when seized and imprisoned, was invested with the nationality of the United States; and they had, therefore, the right, if they chose to exercise it, to extend their protection to him; that from international law—the only law which can be rightfully appealed to for rules of action in this case—Austria could derive no authority to obstruct or interfere with the United States in the exercise of this right, in effecting the liberation of Koszta; and that Captain Ingraham's interposition for his release was, under the peculiar and extraordinary circumstances of the case, right and proper.

These conclusions indicate to Mr. Hulsemann the answer which the undersigned is instructed by the President to make to the Emperor of Austria to the demands presented in Mr. Hulsemann's note.

The President does not see sufficient cause for disavowing the acts of the American agents which are complained of by Austria. Her claim for satisfaction on that account has been carefully considered, and is respectfully declined.

Being convinced that the seizure and imprisonment of Koszta were illegal and unjustifiable, the President also declines to give his consent to his delivery to the Consul-General of Austria at Smyrna; but, after a full examination of the case, as herein presented, he has instructed the undersigned to communicate to Mr. Hulsemann his confident expectation that the Emperor of Austria will take the proper measures to cause Martin Koszta to be restored to the same condition he was in before he was seized in the streets of Smyrna on the 21st of June last.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to Mr. Hulsemann the assurance of his high consideration.

W. L. Marcy.

FOREIGN NEWS—THE EASTERN QUESTION.

The steamer America, with Liverpool dates to the 17th of September, arrived at Halifax on the 30th. The following is the substance of the news in regard to the Eastern question:

Relative to the Eastern question, it was currently reported (although no foundation was apparent for the report) that the Turks had attacked the Russian outposts, but that no general engagement had taken place. This whole rumor is doubtful.

The words of the Vienna despatch are as follows:

"The Czar rejects the Turkish modifications, but abides by the Vienna note, and promises to evacuate the Principalities if the Porte accepts it pure and simple."

This yet leaves one chance for peace. Another telegraphic despatch says a new manifesto is expected from Russia.

The Turks were quite ripe for war. Omar Pacha had difficulty in restraining his troops from hostilities. Fanaticism on both sides was at its height. Anonymous placards on the walls, calling on the faithful to attack the Russians, had much excited the people, and it was only on the special demand of the representatives of the Four Powers that the Sultan had consented to postpone issuing his manifesto to his people. This manifesto is in warlike language, and is indeed a declaration of war.

The Turks continued their armaments, paying for everything in specie. The Turkish levy of 80,000 additional men went on actively, and detachments were constantly marching to join Omar Pacha on the Danube. A reserve corps was forming at Adrianople, under Mehemet Reschad Pacha.

On the 30th the Sultan reviewed the Egyptian troops. The members of the French embassy were present. Mehas, Pacha of Egypt, promises to send 15,000 more men to Bucharest.

The Russian commander-in-chief had addressed an order of the day to his troops, which concludes by saying, "Russia is called to annihilate Paganism, and those who oppose her in that sacred mission shall be annihilated with the Pagans. Long live the Czar! Riva the God of the Russians!"

Omar Pacha wrote to Prince Gortschakoff, notifying him that if the Russian gunboats approached too near the Turkish batteries they would be fired on. Gortschakoff briefly wrote on the back of the letter that if fired on they will return the fire.

A courier had arrived in Paris, bringing the decision (come to the day before) by the four Ministers—viz: Lord Aberdeen, Lord Russell, Clarendon, and Palmerston; another courier took his departure for Marseilles, with orders to embark there at once, bearing a despatch for Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, which, it is said, in a well-informed quarter, enjoins him to employ every possible means to induce the Sultan to accept, without delay, the note without modification. His lordship is authorized to allow the English squadron to enter the Bosphorus, and to disembark troops for the purpose of causing the Sultan's decision to be respected. A courier is also at once to be dispatched to Omar Pacha, forbidding him to commence hostilities in any way.

The following intelligence, embracing the very latest news, was telegraphed from London to Liverpool previous to the America's departure:

London, Saturday, September 17.—The Times of this morning asserts there is no reason to doubt that Turkey will in substance yet accept the note as originally drawn up at Vienna by the representatives of the four great Powers.

Advices from St. Petersburgh have been received to the 6th instant. The Envoy Extraordinary sent by the Shah of Persia took leave of the Czar on that day, and left for the capital, having failed to accomplish the object of his mission.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

[Corrected weekly for the Era.]

Butter, per lb. - - - -	0.14	a	0.20
Cheese, per lb. - - - -	0.10½	a	0.11
Clover seed, per bushel	5.87	a	6.00
Corn meal, per bbl. - - -	3.50	a	3.56
Flour, Howard Street, - -	6.37	a	0.00
Hams, per lb. - - - -	0.10	a	0.12½
Shoulders, per lb. - - -	0.08	a	0.00
Sides, per lb. - - - - -	0.08½	a	0.08⅝
Lard, in bbls., per lb. - -	0.11½	a	0.00
Lard, in kegs, per lb. - -	0.12½	a	0.00
Oats, per bushel - - -	0.38	a	0.42
Pork, Mess, per bbl. - -	16.37	a	16.50
Rye, per bushel - - - -	0.72	a	0.75
Rye flour - - - - -	4.25	a	0.00
Wool, washed, per lb. - -	0.35	a	0.37
Wool, unwashed, per lb. -	0.23	a	0.25

INDEPENDENT CONVENTION OF THE PEOPLE OF NIAGARA COUNTY.

To the Independent Electors of Niagara County:

The electors of this county, irrespective of party, who believe that political and personal liberty is the right of all men, and who favor the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the abrogation of Slavery in the District of Columbia, where it is wholly sustained by the power of the General Government, and the prevention of its introduction in the Territories of the United States; and who are opposed to the attempt of the old parties to suppress free discussion; who are in favor of the proposed amendment of the Constitution of this State, to secure the Erie Canal enlargement, and of efficient measures for the prevention of intemperance, are requested to meet in their respective town, and appoint five delegates to meet in County Convention, at the Tremont House, in the village of Lockport, on Saturday, the 8th day of October next, at twelve o'clock, noon, to make the necessary nominations of candidates for the county officers, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed proper to accomplish the object above indicated.

Dated at Lockport, September 9, 1853.

[*Here follow the names of over 60 citizens, which we are compelled to omit.*]

A CHANCE TO MAKE MONEY

Profitable and Honorable Employment!

THE subscriber is desirous of having an agent in each county and town of the Union. A capital of from five to ten dollars only will be required, and anything like an efficient, energetic man can make from three to five dollars per day; indeed, some of the agents now employed are realizing twice that sum. Every information will be given by addressing (postage paid) WILLIAM A. KINSLER,
Sep. 15— Box 601, Philadelphia Post Office.

FREE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN ILLINOIS.

Notice is hereby given that there will be a Free Democratic Convention held at the Court House, in Geneva, Kane county, Illinois, on Monday, October 10, 1853, at ten o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of nominating candidates for county offices, to be supported at the approaching November election. The several towns will be entitled to the following number of delegates:

Dundee, 6; Elgin, 10; St. Charles, 9; Rutland, 4; Plato, 4; Campton, 5; Hampshire, 4; Virgil, 4; Aurora, 10; Sugar Grove, 5; Big Rock, 4; Keneville, 4; Batavia, 6; Blackberry, 5; Geneva, 6; Burlington, 4.

The several towns will hold their primary meetings for the appointment of delegates on Saturday, October 8, at seven o'clock, P. M. Let each town be fully represented in the Convention.

EDWARD ALEXANDER,
EBEN CONANT,
A. DANFORTH,
CHARLES B. WELLS,
WILLIAM EASTON,
Central Committee.

ANTI-SLAVERY WORKS FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE, BY LEWIS CLEPHANE.

Uncle Tom's Cabin—price 37½ cents, postage 12 cents; five copies for $2, postage paid.
Uncle Tom's Cabin in German—price 50 cents, postage 15 cents.
Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin—price 50 cents, postage 16 cents.
White Slavery in the Barbary States, by Hon. Charles Sumner—price 50 cents, postage 12 cents.
Giddings's Speeches, one volume 12mo—price $1, postage 25 cents.
Goodell's American Slave Code—price 75 cents, postage 18 cents.
Manuel Pereira—price in cloth 75 cents, postage 12 cents; in paper 50 cents, postage 10 cents.
Address LEWIS CLEPHANE, National Era Office.

AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN AGENCY.

THE subscriber devotes his attention to the prosecution of CLAIMS, procuring of PATENTS, or transmission of funds, in America or to any portion of Europe. JOS. C. G. KENNEDY, late of
June 16—3m Census Office, Washington.

S. M. PETTENGILL & CO.,

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING AGENTS, ARE the agents for the *National Era*, and are authorized to receive advertisements and subscriptions for us at the lowest rates. Their receipts are regarded as payments. Their offices are at New York, 122 Nassau street; Boston, 10 State street. June 24

REVOLUTIONARY, WAR OF 1812, FLORIDA AND MEXICAN WAR PENSION CLAIMS

FOR Widows, and Claims for EXTRA PAY for Army and Navy, in California and Oregon, from 1846 to 1852, prosecuted by F. E. HASSLER.
Office on Four-and-a-Half street, near Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C. Sep. 22

THE MAN OF A THOUSAND YEARS.

ISAAC T. HOPPER.

A TRUE LIFE.

BY LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

THIS thrilling work is the biography of one of the most remarkable men the world has ever seen. His deeds of philanthropy and mercy, covering a period of nearly fourscore years, endeared him not only to the thousands who were the immediate participants of his beneficence, but to all who knew him.

With truth he may be called the HOWARD OF AMERICA. Mrs. Child, having spent several years in his family, and being perfectly familiar with his history, of all others, was the person to write "A True Life" of the noble man; and her task has been performed in her best manner.

From the New York Observer.

"He was a Quaker of that early sort illustrated by such philanthropists as Anthony Benezet, Thomas Clarkson, Mrs. Fry, and the like.

"He was a most self-denying, patient, loving friend of the poor, and the suffering of every kind, and his life was an unbroken history of beneficence. Thousands of hearts will feel a touch of grief at the news of his death, for few men have so large a wealth in the blessings of the poor, and the grateful remembrance of kindness and benevolence, as he."

From the New York Tribune.

"Isaac T. Hopper was a man of remarkable endowments, both of head and heart. His clear discrimination, his unconquerable will, his total unconsciousness of fear, his extraordinary tact in circumventing plans he wished to frustrate, would have made him illustrious as the general of an army; and these qualities might have become faults, if they had not been balanced by an unusual degree of conscientiousness and benevolence. He battled courageously, not from ambition, but from an inborn love of truth. He circumvented as adroitly as the most practised politician, but it was always to defeat the plans of those who oppressed God's poor—never to advance his own self-interest.

"Farewell, thou brave and kind old friend! The prayers of ransomed ones ascend to Heaven for thee, and a glorious company have welcomed thee to the Eternal City!"

On a plain block of granite, at Greenwood Cemetery, is inscribed:

ISAAC T. HOPPER,
BORN
DECEMBER 3, 1771,
ENDED HIS PILGRIMAGE
MAY 7, 1852.

"Thou henceforth shall have a good man's calm,
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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

A NEW COMPROMISE PROPOSED BY A SOUTHERNER.

Plan for ameliorating and finally abolishing Slavery, accompanied with the Removal of the Colored Race to the Tropics.

MR. EDITOR: Bigotry and intolerance are not confined to the champions of slavery, as I have had occasion to remark in my intercourse with Northern Abolitionists, and from inspection of some of their newspapers and other publications. Assuming that slavery is, under all circumstances, wrong and impolitic, and that that which is wrong cannot be rectified too soon, they will listen to no proposition which falls short of immediate and unconditional emancipation. This resolution was arrived at by Garrison and others, some twenty-five years ago; and although they have urged it under whip and spur from that day to this, slavery still stands entrenched in the Constitution, enforced by a vigorous Fugitive Slave Law, and supported by the two great political parties of the country, who emulate each other in devotion to "the peculiar institution," as you sneeringly call it.

Now, Mr. Editor, I am a Southern man, but am not a champion of slavery. I wish to see the country rid of it as soon as practicable; but knowing that immediate emancipation is out of the question, whether accompanied by colonization or not, I am willing to do the next best thing in my power. I am willing to see steps taken preparatory to emancipation. The abolition of slavery cannot take place peaceably until a change is effected in the minds of the Southern people; and I maintain that the directest way to bring about such a change, is to begin by lopping off the grosser features of the system, one at a time.

Whenever Southern men have attempted to meet the arguments of Abolitionists, they either deny the existence of such enormities as the domestic slave trade produces, as the separation of families, and the purchase of young females by the licentious, for the gratification of their passions, or insist that they are not essential parts of the system. In like manner, the denial of education to slaves is held to be a mere temporary regulation, and is no essential part of slavery. Dr. Fuller, in his argument with Dr. Wayland, lays it down that slavery is simply enforced labor—labor without other wages than food and clothing—but implying the obligation on the master of furnishing moral and religious instruction to the slave, with education sufficient at least to read the Bible. The separation of families, he holds to be highly criminal. Mr. Badger, the able Senator from my own State, I think would coincide in this view of the subject; and "A Carolinian," who last winter attempted a reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, advanced similar ideas. Even Elwood Fisher, and the *Cotton Plant*, and Judge O'Neal, have suggested meliorations of slavery.

Let the institution of slavery, then, be stripped of these more odious features, which its recognised advocates cannot defend. Let the marriage relation be made legal, and binding upon master and slaves, under all circumstances. If the master owns both parties, prohibit him from selling them separately. If they are owned by different persons, forbid their removal to a greater distance than they are from each other; and, what is equally important, guaranty to the slaves of full age the right of contracting alliances upon the master's plantation, or within a stipulated distance—five or seven miles. But in all cases the law should encourage the bringing of families together by purchase and sale, and continue to masters the utmost latitude of removal, whether within the State or beyond its limits, accompanied always with the condition that the families are to be inviolably held together. Let all laws prohibiting education be repealed, and encouragement given to mental and moral improvement by the establishment of Sunday schools and the worship of God among them; and lastly, let them be allowed to acquire and hold property, with the option of self-emancipation by purchase, at a price to be fixed by disinterested persons. The obvious objection to this arrangement might be got rid of by making removal beyond the State a condition of emancipation. I admit it would be a hard condition; but in most of the Southern States, at present, the privilege would not be conceded without it.

The separation of the younger children from their parents should be prohibited in like manner.

If these regulations were universally adopted throughout the Southern States, and faithfully acted on, they would go far to soften Northern and European prejudices, and to make slavery the "patriarchal institution" which its friends would have the world believe it. The greatest objection which now exists to the extension of slavery South would be removed; and there are many good reasons, which would operate on the minds of even Abolitionists, in favor of it. The formation of new slave States out of any territory that may be honorably acquired from Mexico, or the annexation of Cuba, under such circumstances, would be attended with none of the enormities which are now apprehended by every humane and thoughtful mind, as the necessary result of so great an increase of the domestic slave trade. The removal of the slaves in families, without a dissolution of those endearing ties of kindred which now take place, would be a positive blessing to them. The tropical regions of this Continent seem to be set apart by Nature and destiny for the abode of the negro race; and the extension of slavery, in the mild and modified form which I have suggested would hasten their progress to the promised land.

The advance of slavery Southwest has not yet caused it to recede on the Northern border; but the day is evidently at hand, when this consequence will manifest itself. In fact, it is to be seen now in the constantly diminishing number of slaves in Delaware, Maryland, and at one time in Virginia, while the Carolinas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, have evidently arrived at or near the culminating point, from whence will date the gradual, perhaps rapid, recession of the slave population. The constantly increasing pressure of a Northern free population, with new and more fertile or congenial regions in the South, which new acquisitions may open, would certainly increase the deportation of slaves. By the pressure of a Northern population, I mean merely to indicate the growing tide of emigration from that quarter to the South, which will supply the place of slave labor in the border States, or enable the planters, who wish to emigrate further South, to sell their lands.

The acquisition of new slave territory would therefore change, rather than extend, the area of slavery; and its political influence would not be permanently, if at all, increased.

Bigotry, intolerance, and hostility to free discussion, always exist in exact proportion to the wrongs or errors which they would exclude from the scrutiny of the world; and in proportion as the wrongs or errors are abated or removed, will the minds of those who uphold and cherish them be liberalized and opened to the reception of truth. The history of the world, in Church and State, affords abundant illustration of this truth; and when the South shall consent to lop off the grossest features of the "peculiar institution," so as to bring it within the pale of Christian charity, there can be no doubt that it will surrender much of its present bitter exclusiveness, and give freer scope to the liberty of the press and of speech. The entering wedge to wise and temperate discussion will have been inserted, which will result, in another generation, in the emancipation of the colored race, under circumstances highly favorable to their progressive improvement.

This process of changing the area of slavery, by removing it from Virginia, Kentucky, and in fact from all the temperate upland regions of the South, to the borders of the Gulf, to Mexico, and the West India islands, seems to be the plan of Providence for bringing the colored people together into "a goodly land," where they must inevitably be the dominant race. The number of whites who will accompany them will be comparatively small, and, as a consequence, will have none of the malignant prejudices against color which is to be seen in more northern regions. This is evident to any one who is acquainted with the state of things in the British West Indies, or even in Cuba. In Jamaica, where the blacks are as twenty to one to the whites, the latter maintain their ascendency, politically, in consequence of their superior intelligence. The number of colored voters is far more numerous than the white, yet the latter constitute three-fourths of the colonial parliament; an infallible proof of the docility of the negro, and that emancipation is not attended with any of the dangers, or even unpleasant consequences, which the Southern people apprehend. Their error, in this particular, arises from ignorance of the real cause of the St. Domingo massacre; which was not the liberation of the slaves, but the base and criminal attempt to re-enslave them. The bitterness of the prejudice against the negro in the United States arises from putting freemen on a level with slaves in their every-day occupations; but the class of planters are removed by wealth and intelligence beyond the reach of this contact and its embittering influences; and emancipation would still leave them in the condition of a landed aristocracy, who are never placed in social contact with peasantry, whether white or black. Emancipation, therefore, would, in the tropical regions, be retarded by none of the social impediments which present themselves in Virginia.

The extension of slavery into Mexico, and the annexation of Cuba, under these circumstances, would be attended by one consequence scarcely less important than emancipation itself. I allude to the introduction of Protestantism into those dark and gloomy regions of Catholic superstition, ignorance, and bigotry. The hierarchy would be at once overthrown, and the way opened to that freedom of discussion which must always be fatal to error. This view of the case should have great weight with the friends of freedom; and the planting of the English language and literature in those countries is another circumstance of great importance.

Humanity has everything to gain, and freedom nothing to lose, by the extension of Slavery, modified as I have suggested. Northern and Southern prejudices would be alike softened by the adoption of the reforms I have indicated, and each would be in a better temper to judge dispassionately and wisely on the subject.

I respectfully commend the proposition to politicians, many of whom would gladly keep a conscience, if they could afford it. If acted on, they might stand on national platforms without trampling the dearest rights and the tenderest ties of humanity under their feet.

I have little doubt that the whole North will assent to the extension of slavery, reformed and humanized as I have proposed, and as many of the best men of the South have already suggested. It therefore rests with the Southern people to determine whether they will accept of new acquisitions of territory on no other conditions than those which are dictated by humanity—on conditions which would strip the domestic slave trade of those odious features which have caused the foreign trade to be branded as piracy.

The modifications I have proposed would not in the least destroy the efficiency of slave labor, or injure the value of slaves; and it seems difficult to imagine a solid objection to them, looking at the subject from a Southern point of view.

A SOUTHERNER.

For the National Era.

THE SOUTHERN PLATFORM;

OR,

MANUAL OF SOUTHERN SENTIMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

Being a Compilation from the Writings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and others, whose names are consecrated in the affections of the Southern People—the Debates in the Federal and State Conventions which framed and ratified the Constitution of the United States—those which occurred in the first Congresses which sat during the Administration of General Washington—and extracts from the Debate in the Virginia Legislature in 1832; with various letters, judicial decisions, &c.

BY DANIEL R. GOODLOE, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

ON THE STATE OF SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA.

CONTINUED.

Slavery, says a well-informed writer on the subject, has been attended with circumstances so various in different countries as to render it difficult to give a general definition of it. Justinian calls it a constitution of the law of nations, by which one man is made subject to another, contrary to nature, (9.) Grotius describes it to be an obligation to serve another for life, in consideration of diet and other common necessaries, (10.) Dr. Rutherforth, rejecting this definition, informs us that perfect slavery is an obligation to be directed by another in all one's actions, (11.) Baron Montesquieu defines it to be the establishment of a right which gives one man such a power over another as renders him absolute master over his life and fortune, (12.) These definitions appear not to embrace the subject fully, since they respect the condition of the slave in regard to his *master* only, and not in regard to the *State* as well as the *master*. The author last mentioned observes, that the constitution of a State may be free, and the subject not so—the subject free, and not the constitution of the State, (13) Pursuing this idea, instead of attempting a general definition of slavery, I shall, by considering it under a three-fold aspect, endeavor to give a just idea of its nature.

1. When a nation is, from any external cause, deprived of the right of being governed by its own laws, only such a nation may be considered as in a state of *political slavery*. Such is the state of conquered countries, and, generally, of colonies and other dependent governments. Such was the state of United America before the Revolution. In this case the personal rights of the subject may be so far secured by wholesome laws, as that the individual may be esteemed free, whilst the State is subject to a higher power. This subjection of one nation, or people, to the will of another, constitutes the first species of slavery, which, in order to distinguish it from the other two, I have called political, inasmuch as it exists only in respect to the governments, and not to the individuals, of the two countries. Of this it is not our business to speak at present.

2. Civil liberty, according to Judge Blackstone, being no other than natural liberty so far restrained by human laws, and no farther, as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public, (14) Whenever that liberty is, by the laws of the State, further restrained than is necessary and expedient for the general advantage, a state of *civil slavery* commences immediately. This may affect the whole society, and every description of persons in it, and yet the constitution of the State be perfectly free. And this happens whenever the laws of a State respect the form or energy of the government more than the happiness of the citizen; as in Venice, where the most oppressive species of civil slavery exists, extending to every individual in the State, from the poorest gondolier to the members of the senate, and the doge himself.

This species of slavery also exists whenever there is an inequality of rights, or privileges, between the subjects or citizens of the same State, except such as necessarily results from the exercise of a public office; for the pre-eminence of one class of men must be founded and erected upon the depression of another; and the measure of exaltation in the former is that of the slavery of the latter. In all governments, however constituted, or by what description soever denominated, wherever the distinction of rank prevails, or is admitted by the constitution, this species of slavery exists. It existed in every nation and in every government in Europe before the French revolution. It existed in the American Colonies before they became independent States; and, notwithstanding the maxims of equality which have been adopted in their several constitutions, it exists in most if not all of them at this day, in the persons of our *free* negroes and mulattoes, whose civil incapacities are almost as numerous as the civil rights of our free citizens. A brief enumeration of them may not be improper, before we proceed to the third head.

Free negroes and mulattoes are by our Constitution excluded from the right of suffrage, (15) and by consequence, I apprehend, from office too. They were formerly incapable of serving in the militia, except as drummers or pioneers; but of late years I presume they were enrolled in the lists of those that bear arms, (16) though formerly punishable for presuming to appear at a muster-field, (17.) During the Revolutionary War, many of them were enlisted as soldiers in the regular army. Even slaves were not rejected from military service at that period; and such as served faithfully during the period of their enlistment were emancipated by an act passed after the conclusion of the war, (18)—an act of justice to which they were entitled upon every principle. All but housekeepers, and persons residing upon the frontiers, are prohibited from keeping or carrying any gun, powder, shot, club, or other weapon, offensive or defensive, (19.) Resistance to a white person, in any case, was formerly, and now in any case except a wanton assault on the negro or mulatto, is punishable by whipping, (20.) No negro or mulatto can be a witness in any prosecution or civil suit in which a white person is a party, (21.) Free negroes, together with slaves, were formerly denied the benefit of clergy in cases where it was allowed to white persons; but they are now upon an equal footing as to the allowance of clergy, (22) Emancipated negroes may be sold to pay the debts of their former master contracted before their emancipation; and they may be hired out to satisfy their taxes, where no sufficient distress can be had. Their children are to be bound out apprentices by the overseers of the poor. Free negroes have all the advantages in capital cases which white men are entitled to, except a trial by a jury of their own complexion; and a slave, suing for his freedom, shall have the same privilege. Free negroes residing or employed to labor in any town must be registered. The same thing is required of such as go at large in any county. The penalty in both cases is a fine upon the person employing or harboring them, and imprisonment of the negro, (23.) The migration of free negroes or mulattoes to this State is also prohibited; and those who do migrate hither may be sent back to the place from whence they came, (24) Any person, not being a negro, having one-fourth or more negro blood in him, is deemed a mulatto. The law formerly made no other distinction between negroes and mulattoes, whether slaves or freemen. But now the act of 1796, c. 2, which abolishes the punishment of death, except in case of murder, in all cases where any free person may be convicted, creates a most important distinction in their favor—slaves not being entitled to the same benefit. These incapacities and disabilities are evidently the fruit of the third species of slavery of which it remains to speak; or, rather, they are scions from the same common stock; which is—

3. That condition in which one man is subject to be directed by another in all his actions; and this constitutes a state of *domestic slavery*; to which state all the incapacities and disabilities of civil slavery are incident, with the weight of other numerous calamities superadded thereto. And here it may be proper to make a short inquiry into the origin and foundation of domestic slavery in other countries, previous to its fatal introduction into this.

Slaves, says Justinian, are either born such or become so, (25.) They are born slaves when they are children of bond-women; and they become slaves either by the law of nations—that is, by captivity; for it is the practice of our generals to sell their captives, being accustomed to preserve and not to destroy them—or by the civil law, which happens when a free person above the age of twenty suffers himself to be sold for the sake of sharing the price given for him. The author of the Commentaries on the Laws of England thus combats the reasonableness of all these grounds: (26) "The conqueror," says he, "according to the civilians, had a right to the life of his captive; and having spared that, has a right to deal with him as he pleases. But it is an untrue position, when taken generally, that, by the law of nature or nations, a man may kill his enemy. He has a right to kill him only in particular cases—in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence; and it is plain that this absolute necessity did not subsist, since the victor did not actually kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation; and therefore it gives no other right over prisoners, but merely to disable them from doing harm to us by confining their persons; much less can it give a right to kill, torture, abuse, plunder, or even to enslave, an enemy, when the war is over. Since, therefore, the right of *making* slaves by captivity depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence drawn from it must fail likewise. But, secondly, it is said slavery may begin *jure civili*—when one man sells himself to another. This, if only meant of contracts to serve or work for another, is very just; but when applied to strict slavery, in the sense of the laws of old Rome or modern Barbary, is also impossible. Every sale implies a price—a *quid pro quo*—an equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer; but what equivalent can be given for life and liberty—both of which, in absolute slavery, are held to be in the master's disposal? His property also, the very price he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes a slave. In this case, therefore, the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what validity, then, can a sale be, which destroys the very principles upon which all sales are founded? Lastly, we are told that, besides these two ways by which slaves are acquired, they may also be hereditary—'*servi nascuntur;*' the children of acquired slaves are, '*jure naturæ,*' by a negative kind of birthright, slaves also. But *this, being built on the two former rights*, must *fall* together with them. If neither captivity nor the sale of one's self can, by the law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to slavery, *much less* can they reduce the offspring." Thus, by the most clear, manly, and convincing reasoning does this excellent author refute every claim upon which the practice of slavery is founded, or by which it has been supposed to be justified—at least, in modern times, (27.) But were we even to admit that a captive, taken in a *just war*, might by his conqueror be reduced to a state of slavery, this could not justify the claim of Europeans to reduce the natives of Africa to that state. It is a melancholy though well-known fact, that, in order to furnish supplies of these unhappy people for the purposes of the slave trade, the Europeans have constantly, by the most insidious (I had almost said infernal) arts, fomented a kind of perpetual warfare among the ignorant and miserable people of Africa; and instances have not been wanting where, by the most shameful breach of faith, they have trepanned and made slaves of the *sellers* as well as the *sold*, (28.) That such horrid practices have been sanctioned by a civilized nation; that a nation ardent in the cause of liberty, and enjoying its blessings in the fullest extent, can continue to vindicate a right established upon such a foundation; that a people who have declared "That *all men* are by nature *equally* (29) *free* and *independent*," and have made this declaration the first article in the foundation of their government, should, in defiance of so sacred a truth, recognised by themselves in so solemn a manner and on so important an occasion, tolerate a practice incompatible therewith, is such an evidence of the weakness and inconsistency of human nature as every man who hath a spark of patriotic fire in his bosom must wish to see removed from his own country. If ever there was a cause, if ever an occasion, in which all hearts should be united, every nerve strained, and every power exerted, surely the restoration of human nature to its unalienable right is such. Whatever obstacles, therefore, may hitherto have retarded the attempt, he that can appreciate the honor and happiness of his country will think it time that we should attempt to surmount them.

(9.) Lib. 1, Tit. 3, section 2.
(10.) Lib. 2, c. 5, section 27.
(11.) Lib. 1, c. 20, p. 474.
(12.) Lib. 15, c. 1.
(13) Lib. 12, c. 1.
(14.) Black. Com., 125. I should rather incline to think this definition of *civil* liberty more applicable to *social* liberty, for reasons mentioned in a note, page 145, vol. 1, of Blackstone's Commentaries.
(15.) The Constitution of Virginia, Art. 7, declares that the right of suffrage shall remain as then exercised. The act of 1723, c. 4, (Edi. 1733,) sec. 23, declared that no negro, mulatto, or Indian, shall have any vote at the election of burgesses, or any other election whatsoever. This act, it is presumed, was in force at the adoption of the Constitution. The act of 1785, c. 55, (Edi. of 1794, c. 17,) also expressly excludes them from the right of suffrage.
(16.) This was the case under the laws of the State; but the act of the second Congress, c. 33, for establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States, seems to have excluded all but free white men from bearing arms in the militia.
(17.) 1723, c. 2.
(18.) Oct., 1783, c. 3.
(19.) 1748, c. 31, Edi. 1794.
(20.) Ibid., c. 103.
(21.) 1794, c. 141.
(22.) 1794, c. 103.
(23.) 1794, c. 163.
(24.) 1794, c. 164.
(25.) Inst., Lib. 1, Tit. 1.
(26.) 1 b. c. 423.
(27.) Those arguments are, in fact, borrowed from the Spirit of Laws, Lib. xv, c. 2.
(28.) About the same time (the reign of Queen Elizabeth) a traffic in the human species, called negroes, was introduced into England, which is one of the most odious and unnatural branches of trade the sordid and avaricious mind of mortals ever invented. It had been carried on before this period by Genoese traders, who bought a patent from Charles the fifth, containing an exclusive right of carrying negroes from the Portuguese settlements, in Africa, to America and the West Indies; but the English nation had not yet engaged in the iniquitous traffic. One William Hawkins, an expert English seaman, having made several voyages to the coast of Guinea, and from thence to Brazil and the West Indies, had acquired considerable knowledge of those countries. At his death he left his journals with his son, John Hawkins, in which he describes the lands of America and the West Indies as exceedingly rich and fertile, but utterly neglected for want of hands to improve them. He represented the nations of Europe as unequal to the task in such a scorching climate; but those of Africa as well adapted to undergo the labors requisite. Upon which, John Hawkins immediately formed a design of transporting Africans into the Western World; and having drawn a plan for the execution of it, he laid it before some of his opulent neighbors for encouragement and approbation. To them it appeared promising and advantageous. A subscription was opened, and speedily filled up, by Sir Lionel Duckett, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and others, who plainly perceived the vast profits that would result from such a trade. Accordingly, three ships were fitted out, and manned by an hundred select sailors, whom Hawkins encouraged to go with him by promises of good treatment and great pay. In the year 1562 he set sail for Africa, and in a few weeks arrived at the country called Sierra Leona, where he began his commerce with the negroes. While he trafficked with them, he found the means of giving them a charming description of the country to which he was bound. The unsuspicious Africans listened to him with apparent joy and satisfaction, and seemed remarkably fond of his European trinkets, food, and clothes. He pointed out to them the barrenness of the country, and their naked and wretched condition, and promised, if any of them were weary of their miserable circumstances, and would go along with him, he would carry them to a plentiful land, where they should *live happy*, and *receive* an abundant *recompense* for their labors. He told them the country was inhabited by such men as himself and his jovial companions, and *assured* them of *kind usage* and *great friendship*. In short, the negroes were overcome by his flattering promises, and *three hundred* stout fellows accepted his offer, and consented to embark along with him. Everything being settled on the most amicable terms between them, Hawkins made preparations for his voyage. But, in the night before his departure, his negroes were attacked by a large body from a different quarter. Hawkins, being alarmed with the shrieks and cries of dying persons, ordered his men to the assistance of his slaves, and, having surrounded the assailants, carried a number of them on board as prisoners of war. The next day he set sail for Hispaniola with his cargo of human creatures; but, during the passage, he treated the prisoners of war in a different manner from his volunteers. Upon his arrival he disposed of his cargo to great advantage, and endeavored to inculcate on the Spaniards who bought the negroes the same distinction to be observed; but they, having *purchased all at the same rate*, considered them as slaves of the same condition, and, consequently, treated all alike.

Hawkins, having returned to England, soon after made preparations for a second voyage. In his passage, he fell in with the Minion man-of-war, which accompanied him to the coast of Africa. After his arrival, he began, as formerly, to traffic with the negroes, endeavoring, by persuasions and *prospects of reward*, to induce them to go along with him. But now they were more reserved and jealous of his designs; and as none of their neighbors had returned, they were apprehensive he had killed and eat them. The crew of the man-of-war, observing the Africans backward and suspicious, began to laugh at his gentle and dilatory methods of proceeding, and proposed having immediate recourse to force and compulsion; but Hawkins considered it as cruel and unjust, and tried, by persuasions, promises, and threats, to prevail on them to desist from a purpose so unwarrantable and barbarous. In vain did he urge his authority and instructions from the queen; the bold and headstrong sailors would hear of no restraints. Drunkenness and avarice are deaf to the voice of humanity. They pursue their violent design, and, after several unsuccessful attacks, in which *many* of them lost their *lives*, the cargo was at length completed by barbarity and force.

Hence arose that horrid and inhuman practice of dragging Africans into slavery, which has since been *so* pursued, in defiance of every principle of justice and religion. Had negroes been brought from the flames, to which in some countries they were devoted on their falling prisoners of war, and in others sacrificed at the funeral obsequies of the great and powerful among themselves; in short, had they by this traffic been delivered from *torture or death*, European merchants *might have some excuse* to plead in its vindication. *But, according to the common mode in which it has been conducted*, we must confess it a difficult matter to conceive a *single* argument in its defence. And though policy has given countenance and sanction to the trade, yet every candid and impartial man must confess that it is atrocious and unjustifiable in every light in which it can be viewed, and turns merchants into a band of robbers, and trade into atrocious acts of fraud and violence.—*Historical account of South Carolina and Georgia. Anonymous. London, printed in* 1779. *Page* 20, *&c.*

The number of negro slaves bartered for in one year (viz., 1768) on the coast of Africa, from Cape Blanco to Rio Congo, amounted to 104,000 souls, whereof more than half (viz., 53,000) were shipped on account of British merchants, and 6,300 on the account of British Americans.—*The Law of Retribution, by Granville Sharpe, Esq., page* 147. *Note.*

(29.) Bill of Rights, Article 1.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MAINE POLITICS.

To the Editor of the National Era:

It may be interesting to many of your readers to know what about political affairs in Maine. And I propose to give a brief sketch of the true position of affairs, as they present themselves to persons familiar with the parties in the State. We have first to say that there are four parties instead of three, as usual. There has been a great deal of bickering in the Democratic party for several years, arising from various causes. One cause has been, that there are many leisure hands in this State that can only be employed as the Government gives them employment; therefore, the "outs" have been enraged against the "ins." These parties are generally designated by the beautiful cognomen of "Wild Cats," (owing to their fondness for the possession of the pine timber lands, and possessing a very untamable disposition, and a strong liking to stimulants;) the other, the "Wool Heads," or Hunkers, owing, it is said, to a more favorable sympathy for humanity, (it, however, is not discernible,) and an inveterate love for office.

Since 1850 there has been no particular question agitating the minds of the people in their elections, save the "Maine Law." In that year, June 2, the law was passed by a large majority of the Legislature, and received the signature of John Hubbard, then Governor of Maine. Hubbard gave his official and personal influence in favor of the law; and being of the Hunker stripe, and rather more inflexible respecting the payment of debts of those who purchased the public timber than some other Administrations, it brought down the ire of certain men in the State, who, out of revenge, were determined he should not be elected Governor at the next election, for which he had been nominated by the Legislature according to the usages of the party. A convention was called at Portland accordingly, and another man nominated, and a repeal of the Maine Law made the rallying cry. A rum organ was started in Portland, to advocate the election of Chandler and repeal. Money by thousands was received from Massachusetts to accomplish the object. The rum organ was distributed like the leaves of the autumn. The friends of the law became aroused; they called their conventions, sent forth their lecturers, and a great and lasting good was accomplished. As the enemies of the law designed, politically, to kill Hubbard, the friends of the law, multitudes of them, supported Hubbard at the ballot-box. The Free Democracy, by thousands, voted for him, and more than ten thousand Whigs voted the same. Yet he lacked a few thousand of an election. He received 42,000 votes, while Chandler received but 22,000, and Crosby 29,000. While Hubbard failed of an election, the Legislature was two-thirds Maine Law. Hubbard and Crosby were presented to the Senate, according to the Constitution; and though the Senate was Whig, yet enough Maine Law Whigs voted for Hubbard to elect him, had it not been for one or two anti-Maine Law "Wild Cats," who voted for Crosby; and on this account Mr. Crosby is Governor.

The rum power, having defeated Gov. Hubbard, have been on the alert, making their plans and concocting their schemes for the nomination of a man for Governor after their own heart. According to the testimony of delegates to their State Convention, they accomplished their purpose. Such a convention probably never assembled; many became helplessly drunk upon the occasion. They sowed the wind, and, as the election will show, they have reaped the whirlwind. They put in nomination Albert Pillsbury, a man generally unknown, but one, according to the declaration (and the reader may rely upon the assertion) of delegates to the convention, who gave a practical and ocular demonstration against the liquor law, by furnishing the prohibited article to the delegates, in such quantities that the temperate portion of the convention were astonished!

The friends of temperance and good order among the Democrats resolved that they would not submit to such an outrage upon the morals of the community, called a mass convention at Portland, and nominated Anson P. Morrill, of Readfield, a thorough and strong friend to the Maine Law. Having thus introduced the position of affairs, we propose to give the results of the election as nearly as possible. Pillsbury, though supported by thousands of friends to the Maine Law, owing to the shackles of partyism and fear of being bolters, will lack ten thousand or more of an election. The House and Senate will be two-thirds or three-fourths for the law. The Maine Law and Morrill Democrats will hold the balance of power, so that in all probability Pillsbury will not be presented to the Senate, and the election will ultimately fall upon Morrill or Crosby. And it is the opinion of many, and that opinion has foundation, that Anson P. Morrill will be the next Governor of Maine. There will be much speculation respecting coming events.

The Pillsbury papers claim a majority of Representatives to be Democrats; this may be true, yet there are not more than 65 out of 151 Representatives who will be disposed to favor Pillsbury's election. Thus has the rum power been broken in this State forever. The Maine Law is triumphant!

The vote of the Free Democracy will be near 9,000, and they will have ten or twelve Representatives and several Senators. The agitation of the temperance question will ultimately give great accessions to the party.

MAINE.

INDIANA SLAVE CASE.

The case of John Freeman, of Indianapolis, in this State, appears to be arousing the people, to some extent, to a sense of the utter injustice of the Fugitive Slave Law, &c. The feeling is manifesting itself throughout the State. As a sample, I herewith send a copy of a preamble and resolutions adopted by a very large assembly, composed principally of Free Democrats, yet there were many Whigs and Hunker Democrats present, who voted for its adoption. People of all parties and both sexes appear to be thoroughly disgusted with the conduct of John L. Robinson in the case. I hope Dr. B. will publish the preamble and resolutions. They should be seen publicly in Washington. We sent a copy to the President by to-day's mail. Respectfully,

JOSEPH W. YOUNG.

Whereas the present State Marshal, John L. Robinson, as we are credibly informed, compelled John Freeman, a United States prisoner in his custody, to be divested of his clothing, in order that his accuser's witnesses might discover marks upon his body, for the purpose, as is confidently believed, of affording basis for false testimony against said prisoner, thereby prostituting his high and responsible office to the detestable crime of kidnapping; therefore,

Resolved, That this Association respectfully but earnestly request the President of the United States forthwith to remove the said John L. Robinson from the office of Marshal of the State of Indiana.

Resolved, That a copy of the above preamble and resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, also one to John L. Robinson.

Extracted from the proceedings of the Free Democratic Association of Rush county, Ind., held the 3d day of September, 1853.

J. W. YOUNG, *President.*
JOHN H. FRAZEE, *Secretary.*

LEGARE ON SLAVERY.

We have found among our papers the following eloquent and judicious remarks on Slavery in this country, in the handwriting of the gifted and lamented Legare, and lay them before our readers exactly as they are in the original.—*Charleston Courier.*

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

This is a great practical question, and needs to be treated by statesmen, and not by sophisters and fanatics.

It is not *res integra*, and it is not necessary to discuss the justice or injustice, the fitness or unfitness, of the institution in the abstract.

The true question is, What is to be the destiny of this quarter of the world—what race is to inhabit and possess it? Shall it be given up (as to a great part of its surface) to barbarism—its inevitable fate under the dominion of the black race—or shall it continue to be possessed by the most improving, enterprising, active and energetic breed of men that have ever founded empires and peopled waste places—by their English race, whose conquest more extensive, whose power more gigantic, and whose government more perfect than that of Rome, designate it as the fitting instrument, in the hands of Providence, for the great work of building up a world—that English race, of which the original stock has made itself the wonder of mankind—a people entirely peculiar in combining whatever is most dazzling in opulence and power, with well-regulated liberty, and mild and equal administration of law—the most magnificent manifestations of the might and the grandeur of civilized life, that the world, in any age of it, has ever beheld. Look at Hayti, and contrast it with New Holland!

Does any man, who looks into the political character and effects of the cotton plant, doubt for a moment that Slavery in the South has been and is a great instrument of civilization? Would the miracles which the cotton trade has wrought, and is working, for the amelioration of the condition of mankind in Europe, have ever existed, had the negro of the South been emancipated in the Revolution? Would this country have been what it is?

The truth is, that civilization is more advanced by physical causes than by moral ones. I mean, supposing in both cases social order to be well established, and law administered. The steam-engine is doing more for it than the pulpit itself. So of cotton. It is raising the standard of comfort, without which men are doomed forever to be but half savage.

The Roman conquests were attended with dreadful evils; millions of lives, it is said, were sacrificed by Cæsar in his Gallic wars, and so of all the rest. Does any one now doubt that, on the whole, the sword of Rome was a means of improvement to the whole race? that especially the spreading of Christianity was hastened and facilitated by it? Would any philanthropist, who did not assume that name to make it odious, wish the history of the Roman blotted out?

So of Greek art. Without doubt, it had never existed—never, at least, in such an extraordinary perfection, without the institution of Slavery. Suppose it were ascertained that, by establishing an English colony at the spot where Carthage once stood, at the end of some centuries our race and institutions would spread over the whole of that continent, hitherto held to be doomed to everlasting silence and desolation; though the great result spoken of could only be accomplished by exterminating, as the red men of this continent have been, or reducing to bondage under the white man, the negro, who is now the slave of his brother negro and brother savage—would it be considered inconsistent with humanity to have, yea, and to co-operate in producing, a change so full of splendid improvement, so favorable to the dignity of human nature, and even to the beauty and glory of God's creation?

Look at the state of South America, and compare it with the northern part of the Continent.

Therefore I have always thought that the slave trade, inhuman, infernal as it was, had not been without its compensations—(certainly not enough to justify any one in taking part in continuing it, for so much evident and now known evil ought not to be done that good might come of it)—but that, considered as a great evil, it was much more so to this continent than to Africa.

In short, Slavery is an evil, except under peculiar circumstances, generally speaking, certainly—and everything shows it here—but not such an evil as calls for violent, and still less destructive, measures to arrest it.

[PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.]

From the National Intelligencer.

INHALATION IN CONSUMPTION.

Influenced by a sense of the duty I owe to mankind, I would respectfully request the insertion in your valuable paper of the following statement of my sister's illness and her recovery from consumption. During the fall of 1851, she was violently affected with cold, followed by a disagreeable cough, which continued some months, being increased by each additional cold. In January, 1852, a severe pain commenced in the left side and region of the heart, accompanied with violent cough, night and day. Such was the severity of the cough, and the distress arising from a suffocating sensation on lying down, that she was compelled to sleep bolstered up in bed. There was great difficulty in breathing, thick yellow matter was coughed up from the lungs, occasionally mixed with blood, and towards the latter part of February nearly half a pint a day. Her strength was wasted, there was great oppression of the chest, with a rattling sound in breathing. Her face was flushed with hectic fever, and the eyes burned with a peculiar brilliancy. Under such circumstances I could not doubt that her lungs were very much affected, and we had no hope of her recovery. Such was her state at the close of February, with the symptoms increasing in violence, when she commenced inhaling "medicated vapors," under the direction of Dr. Hunter, and Dr. Wellesley, his assistant. We had not long to wait for evidences of improvement. The cough soon became less severe, the matter was raised from the lungs in large quantities without much effort, the oppression in breathing went off, hectic fever disappeared, her rest became comfortable, and her appetite and strength returned. In a month she was out of danger, and in two perfectly restored to health. A year has since elapsed, and she continues free from all traces of disease.

This happy result, we feel, was due entirely to the use of inhalation; and under this conviction feel it to be our duty to proclaim it to the world, and this I deem will be a sufficient excuse for asking for this letter a place in your widely-circulated paper. Your obedient servant,

FREDERICK ANDREWS,
Dunbarton st., Georgetown.

Georgetown, D. C., April 25, 1853.

WEEKLY EVENING POST.
PROSPECTUS.

TO add to the interest and usefulness of the Evening Post, we have enlarged it by an addition of an equivalent to about four additional columns The Weekly and the Semi-Weekly editions were enlarged twelve columns only about three years ago. Four more columns added now increases the sheet to double the size of the paper on which they were originally printed.

In announcing this enlargement, which, we may be permitted to say, is one of the results of the growing confidence of the commercial and industrial interests of the country in the course of the Evening Post, it is our duty to make our especial acknowledgements to those numerous friends, both personal and political, who, through evil report and through good report, have cheered us with their generous countenance and given us annually recurring proofs of their esteem and attachment, uninfluenced by the fluctuations of party opinion or the smiles and frowns of men in power, which too often seduce or frighten men from the course their consciences approve—the manly assertion of truth and the steady resistance of error. We take fresh courage from our success thus far, and from their friendly co-operation, to persevere in the path which we have deliberately chosen, and they have as deliberately approved.

We avail ourselves of this occasion to congratulate our readers upon the arrangement which we have been so fortunate as to make with Colonel Benton for the publication of a series of articles from his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate," which will be continued through the year and until the work shall be published, some time in 1854.

We are also in negotiation for a series of private papers and reminiscences of another eminent democratic statesman, which we hope to bring out in the course of a few weeks.

TERMS OF THE WEEKLY EVENING POST.

Single copy, one year, 52 numbers	$2.00
Three copies, one year, 52 numbers	5.00
Five copies, one year, 52 numbers	8.00
Ten copies, one year, 52 numbers	12.00
Twenty copies, one year, to one address	20.00

Subscriptions may commence at any time. Payment in advance is required in all cases, and the paper is invariably discontinued at the expiration of the advance payment.

Persons who sent in their subscriptions before the enlargement will receive the paper at the old rate for the year. New subscribers sending us one dollar will receive the paper for six months.

Money may be remitted for subscriptions in letters at our risk; but the postmaster at the place where the letter is mailed should be made acquainted with its contents, and keep a description of the bills.

Bills of any specie-paying bank in the United States or Canadas received at par for subscriptions.

We have no travelling agents. Any one wishing to receive the Evening Post need not wait to be called on for his subscription. All that is necessary for him to do is to write a letter in as few words as possible, enclose the money, and write the name of the subscriber, with the postoffice, county, and State, and direct the letter to WILLIAM C. BRYANT & CO., Evening Post Office, New York.

THE SEMI-WEEKLY.

Persons residing at points where mails arrive oftener than once a week are requested to examine the Semi-Weekly. We regard it as the cheapest political newspaper published in the United States.

TERMS.

Single copy, one year	$3.00
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Five copies, one year	12.00
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EVENING POST, DAILY.

This paper is published at three o'clock precisely, and contains the latest news received in the city of New York up to half-past 2 P. M., by railroad, steamboat, or telegraph, from all quarters of the globe. It also gives the transactions at the stock board, and the condition of the money market on the day of its publication, together with the usual matters of interest to general readers. The Evening Post is one of the official papers of the city of New York, and its daily edition contains the official reports of the proceedings of the Boards of Aldermen of the city, when in session. The subscription price is $9.00, if paid in advance, or $10.00, if paid at the end of the year.

The style of the firm, in the name of which all business is transacted, and the address for all communications designed for the proprietors or editors, is,

WILLIAM C. BRYANT & CO.,
Corner of Nassau and Liberty sts.

P. S. Correspondence containing news is respectfully solicited, and will be liberally paid for.

Matter intended for the paper should be written plainly, and only on one side of the sheet. Aug. 25.

THE AMERICAN SLAVE CODE, IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

ITS Distinctive Features shown by its Statutes, Judicial Decisions, and Illustrative Facts. By William Goodell, author of the "Democracy of Christianity," "Slavery and Anti-Slavery," &c. The work contains 430 pages 12mo, neatly bound in cloth. Price 75 cents per copy; postage 16 cents.

June 30. L. CLEPHANE, Office Nat. Era.

The following is a letter from Hon. William Jay to the author:

"Your analysis of the slave laws is very able, and your exhibition of their practical application by Southern courts evinces great and careful research. Your book is as impregnable against the charge of exaggeration as Euclid's Geometry, since, like that, it consists of propositions and demonstrations. The book is not only true, but it is *unquestionably* true."

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☞ The books published by us are all useful in their character, extremely popular, and command large sales wherever they are offered.

For further particulars, address, postage paid,
LEARY & GETZ, 138 North Second st., Philadelphia.
Aug. 11—

THE JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR—VOL. IX.
For Children and Sabbath Schools.
BY UNCLE LUCIUS.

A SEMI-MONTHLY paper, which aims to interest and improve the young mind. Special effort is made to give a proper direction to the minds of children, in these times of strife for the supremacy of slavery. Price—25 cents for single copies, [illegible] for $1, [illegible] always free of charge.

LUCIUS C. MATLACK, Editor and Publisher,
June 23. 60 South Salina st., Syracuse, N. Y.

MINING AGENCY,
New York, 110 Broadway, Rooms Nos. 8 and 9.

THIS Agency is established to aid in the purchase and sale of Mining Property and Stocks. [illegible] Mining Companies [illegible] also, for furnishing all kinds of Machinery and Mining Tools as ordered; also, the Chemical Analysis of Ores and other Substances, and the Geological Survey of the country.

A printed circular, giving full explanations, will be sent in answer to any post-paid letter enclosing one three cent Post Office stamp.

T. R. BARBOUR & CO.,
July 21. No. 110 Broadway, New York.

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THE above Establishment still continues in successful operation, having already entered upon its sixth season. The largely increased number of patients treated at the Establishment the past year, over any previous year, and the increased rapidity and proportion of cures, induce the Proprietor to believe that his enlarged experience and opportunities for treatment give facilities to the invalid rarely equalled.

Diseases peculiar to females are treated with a success [illegible] none.

T. T. SEELYE, M. D.,
April 21—24t Proprietor.

IMPORTANT TO YOUNG MEN.

I OFFER for sale upwards of thirty different Receipts, or ways of making money, which I will sell for five dollars a-piece, [illegible] many different ways to make money. In the sale of one of the articles alone, I have made [illegible] the past year [illegible] day; [illegible] the articles [illegible] fail to make money. Address E. BOWMAN, Boston, Mass., enclosing one dollar, and the number of Receipts will be forwarded by return mail. [illegible] from the office unless post paid. June 16.

STAR AND ADAMANTINE CANDLES, AND LARD OIL.

LARD OIL of the finest quality, in good shipping order. Star and Adamantine Candles, full weight, 16 ounces to the pound. These candles are excellent for all climates, especially California, Brazil, the East and West Indies, and Africa. Orders for any quantity executed promptly.

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March 24. Candle Manufacturer, Cincinnati, O.

PRINTING.

PAMPHLET PRINTING neatly executed by BUELL & BLANCHARD, Sixth street, south of Pennsylvania avenue.

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MANUEL PEREIRA:
OR,
THE SOVEREIGN RULE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
WITH
Views of Southern Laws, Life, and Hospitality.

Written in Charleston, S. C., by F. C. A[illegible]

THE above work forms a beautiful 12mo volume of over 300 pages, small pica. Price—in paper, 50 cents; muslin, 75 cents. The usual discount to the Trade. Orders solicited. Copies sent by mail, prepaid, any distance under 3,000 miles, for 61 cents.

The above work is a delineation of the scenes and incidents connected with the imprisonment, in 1852, of Manuel Pereira, steward of the British brig Janson, in the jail of Charleston, S. C.

The following notice of this work is copied from the *National Era* of February 17:

"The above is the title of a work now in press, founded upon that infamous statute of South Carolina, by which her citizens claim a right to imprison *colored seamen*, of all nations, and even those cast upon their shores in distress. We have perused the book in advance of its publication, and find that it gives a life-like picture of Pereira, the vessel in which he sailed, the storms she encountered, and her wrecked condition when brought into the port of Charleston, S. C.; together with the imprisonment of Pereira, several seamen belonging to the New England States, and two French seamen; the prison regimen, character of the Charleston police, and the mendacity of certain officials, who make the law a medium of peculation. The work is replete with incidents of Southern life and character, pointing Southerners to the things that call for correction at their own hands, with a force that cannot be mistaken. The work is written by one who has taken a prominent part in the affairs of the South, and cannot fail to interest alike the general reader, commercial man, and philanthropist."

The above work can be obtained, at wholesale prices, from

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., Boston, Mass.,
SERVIUS J. BATES, 48 Beekman st., New York,
WILLIS P. HAZARD, Philadelphia,
And from the publishers,
BUELL & BLANCHARD, Washington, D. C.

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BEING determined to offer the public the best Piano Fortes that are manufactured, we have arranged with the above-named Boston manufacturers, to keep constantly on hand at our ware rooms in New York and Philadelphia, in addition to our stock of New York and Philadelphia Pianos, a full and well-selected assortment of their celebrated Pianos.

Messrs. Hallett, Davis, & Co. have been long and favorably known as manufacturers, whose Pianos, for volume, purity, depth and sweetness of tone, and for the great length of time they would stand in tune, could not be excelled. They have recently introduced the "grand patent suspension bridge," which imparts the firmness and volume of tone of the Grand Piano. Their Æolian, having the latest and most improved voicing, is pronounced superior to any other. There is no instrument so desirable for the parlor as their Æolian Piano Forte, combining all the beauty, brilliancy, and soul-touching pathos of the piano and parlor organ.

Of Lemuel Gilbert's Boudoir Pianos it is only necessary to say, that by a series of experiments, continued for eight years, he has triumphantly succeeded in making an instrument for small rooms, fully equal to the square piano.

All of the above instruments warranted in the fullest manner. The prices, at either of our ware rooms, the same as at the manufactories in Boston. We will select instruments with or without the Æolian, and forward them to any part of the United States; and if they do not prove satisfactory, they may be returned at our expense, and the purchase money will be refunded.

We are engaged largely in publishing Music and Musical Works of every description, at both New York and Philadelphia; and having purchased the extensive catalogue of Mr. A. Fiot of Philadelphia, and having all the Boston publications, we are prepared to offer better inducements to the trade, and to schools and seminaries, than any other house.

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